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ABSTRACT

Designed to help students understand basic election issues, campaign practices, election processes, and voting procedures, this curriculum guide contains information about U.S. politics in relation to the concept of freedom and historical material on the founding of U.S. political parties, Jeffersonian democracy, and political parties after 1850. The function of political parties is explained, along with information about the two major parties, third parties, and the structure of political parties. Other sections describe: (1) financing campaigns and elections; (2) factors affecting U.S. voter turnout; (3) methods of voting; (4) the nomination process; (5) the election process; (6) the electoral college; (7) campaign techniques; and (8) election and political reforms. National, Indiana, Vanderburgh (Indiana) County and its townships, and Evansville (Indiana) city public offices are described, and the terms of office, salaries, and duties are listed. Sections are provided that explain 12 selected presidential elections, present a glossary of terms, and list suggested class activities and discussion questions. An 11-item bibliography, drawings, charts, and maps are included. (JHP)

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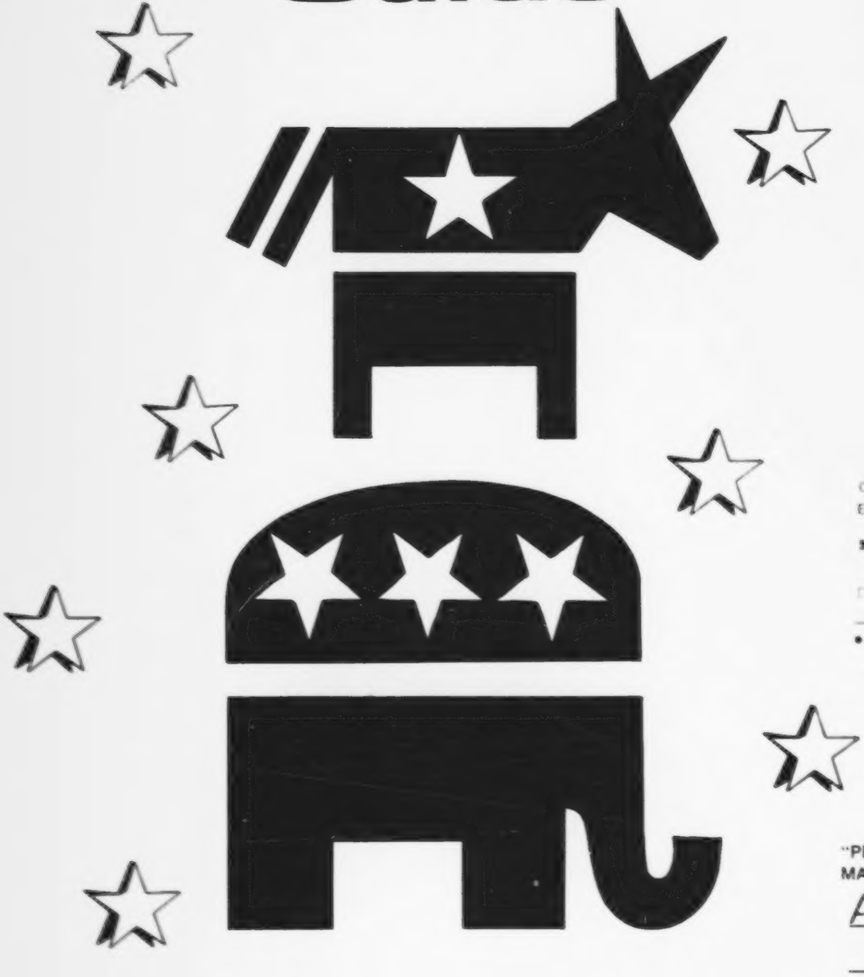
ELECTION RESOURCE Guide



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SOCIAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT

EVSC
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ONE S.E. NINTH STREET
EVANSVILLE, INDIANA 47708

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ELECTION RESOURCE GUIDE

SOCIAL STUDIES

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EVANSVILLE-VANDERBURGH SCHOOL CORPORATION
Evansville, Indiana

Fourth Revision, 1986

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FOREWORD

Political and election activities in the United States are unique in the world. This singularity places a challenge on our schools to present these activities in their proper perspective and to teach the responsibilities of citizenship and discerning participation. Only through understanding of the functions of political parties and elections can we be responsible voting citizens.

The 1951 General Assembly mandate to provide within two weeks immediately prior "to any general, congressional, or state election," five full periods of discussion concerning organization of and participation in government and elections for all pupils in grades six through twelve inspired us to prepare this resource book for teachers. There is no dearth of information in this area. There is a lack of organization in its presentation for classroom use. This book will enable the teacher to choose the topics appropriate to the class. It is not to be used as a textbook; nor is it designed to serve as a curriculum guide. It is a reference for the teacher and source book for topic reports for students.

We are indebted to the diligent work and careful research done by the committee who compiled the resource book.

1964-1965

Ruth Adams, Chairman
William Asbury
Eston Blythe
James Giannini
Mardelle McCormick
Jerry Noland
John Roberts
Bernard Sergesketter

Revision Committee, 1969-1970

Mardelle McCormick, Chairman
Elston Blythe, Supervisor
David Koehler
Margery Warner

Revision Committee, 1973-1974

Mardelle McCormick, Chairman
Elston Blythe, Supervisor
Rose Goff
David Koehler

Revision Committee, 1979-1980

Mardelle McCormick, Chairman
William Lyles, Supervisor
Don L. Hunter
David Koehler
Jerry Noland

Revision Committee, 1986-1987

Mardelle McCormick, Chairman
Christine Settle, Supervisor
William Bartelt
Richard Garland
David Koehler
Jerry Noland

PHILOSOPHY AND GOALS
OF THE EVANSVILLE-VANDERBURGH SCHOOL CORPORATION

PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy of the Evansville-Vanderburgh School Corporation is to support, through education, the development of individuals, according to their abilities, to become informed, responsible, and productive members of society.

Education provides experiences for students to acquire knowledge and skills as well as positive attitudes and values. Through education, students have opportunities to develop a commitment to self-discipline and the acceptance of responsibility for self and others.

The Evansville-Vanderburgh School Corporation recognizes that education is a cooperative enterprise; the home, the school, and the community share in this responsibility for education.

GOALS

CITIZENSHIP

To prepare students to become effective and adaptive citizens of a changing society by developing self-respect, by encouraging acceptance of different social, cultural, political, and ethnic groups, and by instilling understanding, appreciation, and respect for democracy.

INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENT

To assist students in the attainment of knowledge and skills, in the development of intellectual curiosity, and in the understanding and appreciation of human achievement in the arts, humanities, and social and natural sciences.

CREATIVITY

To provide students opportunity, encouragement, and desire to develop creative potential for the cultural and technological progress of society.

OCCUPATIONAL AND ECONOMIC COMPETENCY

To assist students in the development of a respect for the dignity of work, an awareness of skills and abilities required for a wide range of occupations, the preparation for a saleable skill, and a competency in the application of economic knowledge to the management of personal affairs in an increasingly complex society.

HEALTH AND SAFETY

To instruct students in the knowledge and practice of health and safety habits that will promote sound mental, physical, and emotional health.

MORALE AND ETHICAL VALUES

To develop in students the moral and ethical attitudes which will permit them to demonstrate such qualities as fairness, justice, tolerance, courtesy, kindness, and honesty.

FAMILY MEMBERSHIP

To provide students with an understanding and respect for the values of the family structure and the sheltering environment of the home.

LEISURE TIME

To provide students with opportunities for the development of meaningful interests, leading toward participation in a range of physical, intellectual, and creative leisure-time activities.

THE TEACHER AND ELECTIONS

Despite the school's efforts to develop high citizenship standards in young people, only 53.6 percent of the eligible adults voted in the presidential election in November, 1984. Our job is to prepare young Americans for a more active and enlightened role in the political affairs of the nation. How do we impress young people with the seriousness of their active participation in government? As teachers it is our task to help students secure information that will lead them to understand the basic issues of the election, campaign practices, election methods, and voting.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND OUR TRADITION OF FREEDOM

While students need some grasp of the mechanics, the strategy, and the tactics of American politics, even more they need to understand the tradition of freedom underlying the American system of government by free choice of the people. We have established the principle that citizens have the right to select their representatives in frequent, certain, and regular elections.

Our elected officials serve only for a term or terms, and this term or terms is fixed by law. Those in government do not stay in power indefinitely. Of equal importance is the principle that all citizens have the right to run for public office.

It isn't a real election unless two or more candidates are opposed so that the voters have a real choice.

A true election must involve issues. This means there must be arguments and criticism--much expression of opinion, both oral and written. Our kind of politics would not be possible without the individual rights and liberties of our citizens.

Competition as well as cooperation is necessary to democracy.

Underlying all our provisions for the election of our representatives in government is the principle that public officials are responsible to the people. In the long run they must do what the people want them to do, for there is always a day of reckoning--Election Day. It is on that day that candidates for re-election and the party seeking return to office must submit themselves and their politics to re-evaluation by the people. The people also have their responsibilities. Since they select the officials who will run their government, responsibility for good government is in major part theirs.

Every year the United States gains a huge number of new citizens--some by birth and some by naturalization. The naturalized citizens, the majority of whom are adults, have come from many other nations and have grown up under different forms of government, some of them far removed from democracy. The preparation for citizenship of the United States includes learning about the new, democratic government under which they (unlike the new-born American citizen) have chosen to live. As a consequence, or so it has been observed, many naturalized citizens have a more detailed knowledge of the American form of government and a stronger and more deeply felt understanding of the duties as well as the rights and privileges of an American citizen. A reminder of those duties, rights and privileges is given to every new citizen following the naturalization ceremony. It is a reminder that should just as well be given to every native-born citizen . . .

The Duties of a Citizen

It is my duty to obey my country's laws.
It is my duty to vote, so my government may truly represent the will of the people.
It is my duty to keep informed as to the honesty and ability of candidates for public office.
It is my duty, by my votes and my influence, to correct injustice.
It is my duty to pay such taxes as have been devised by representatives elected by me, to defray the cost of government.
It is my duty to serve on a jury when called on.
It may sometimes become my duty to hold a public office for which I am suited, so my government may function efficiently.
It is my duty to defend my country, if need should arise.
It is my duty to abide by the will of the majority, to stand behind my government, so my nation may be unified in time of crisis.

Rights and Privileges of a Citizen

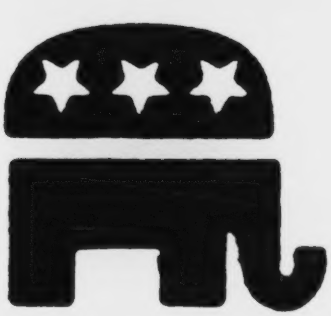
I may think as I please.
I may speak or write as I please, so long as I do not interfere with the rights of others.
I have the right to vote. By my vote I choose the public officers who are really my servants.
I have the right to choose my work, to seek any job for which my experience and ability have fitted me.
I have the right to improve my lot through various means.
I have the right to a prompt trial by jury, if I should be accused of a crime.
I may seek justice in the courts, where I have equal rights with others.
I have the privilege of sharing in the benefits of many of the natural resources of my country.
I may educate my children in free schools.
I have the right to worship as I think best.
I have the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

by
William Tyler Page

I BELIEVE in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a Republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I THEREFORE BELIEVE it is my duty to my Country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies.



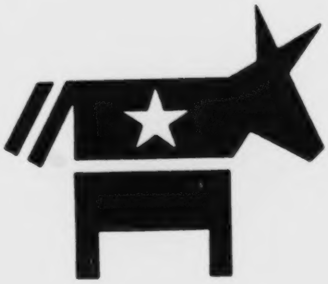
POLITICAL PARTIES

Today there would be no America as we know it without elections, no elections without politics, and no politics without parties. Yet, American parties are the result of our country's history and circumstances rather than the result of planning by our early political leaders; it is of striking significance that our Constitution does not even mention parties. It is, therefore, essentail that we examine the early political history of our country in order to understand our present system today.

The Beginnings of Our Party System

There were no parties organized in modern form before the Revolution, but there were some people who were usually resisting any attempt to decrease the power of the governor in favor of the assembly, *i.e.*, Tories or Loyalists.

Other persons opposed the governor and sought to increase the power of the assembly, *i.e.*, Whigs or Patriots. The assembly through its power of the purse was able to curtail the powers of the governor. This conflict was eventually settled by revolution; the Whigs or Patriots eliminated the opposition party and won the war, as well.



Although the founding fathers while writing the Constitution had feared that independence was incompatible with centralized authority, they had bowed to necessity and had created a federal structure that endowed the national government with power while safeguarding individual liberty and traditional authority. Now that the first part of their task was done, the farmers faced the even harder job of securing approval for their work. Led by Alexander Hamilton, the more conservative people, in general, such as the merchants, bankers, and landowners favored the ratification of the Constitution. They believed that a stronger government as outlined in the Constitution would provide for more stable trade for the merchants and a better financial structure for the bankers. The landowners remembered Shays' Rebellion and thus wanted protection from the rule of the mob. On the other hand, the farmers, laborers, and local politicians who feared the loss of self-government opposed the ratification of the Constitition. These people felt that they had reason to oppose a strong central government because it had the power to take away their liberty and property. They thought the rich and influential would control the new government. Hence, we had the Federalists lined up against the Anti-Federalists. The latter were handicapped because they had no program to present to the people to oppose the Federalists. The Constitution was adopted by a slight margin by the more conservative groups of the country. However, we must add that the founding fathers were governed by principles as well as their pocketbooks.

Like all revolutionary countries, the United States began with a one-party system. Washington, as well as other Revolutionary leaders, wanted it to stay that way. Washington warned in his Farewell Address "in the most solemn manner against the baleful effects of the spirit of party generally..." (Parties) "foment occasionally riot and insurrection." Washington probably held these views because he remembered the bitter struggle between the Whigs and the Tories. Even today Americans have a natural prejudice against politics. The Electoral College was designed to prevent the formation of party politics. Many of the founding fathers thought of the President as a person who would stand above parties. The President was to be sort of an elected king like the Queen of England of today. Politics was supposed to be accomplished in a gentlemanly manner rather than through parties.

As Washington became President in 1789, by unanimous choice, the nation united under his leadership. Yet there were arguments that broke out in Washington's own cabinet between the Federalist, Alexander Hamilton, and the Anti-Federalist, Thomas Jefferson. Hamilton believed in a strong government supported by a strong financial system which tended to favor the creditors. This would make the rich and influential support the new government as well as make the states and the people dependent on the national government. Hamilton also believed that the country should be governed by and for the "rich, well-born, and able," and he favored a pro-British foreign policy which tended to associate him with the aristocratic English. Jefferson, on the other hand, believed that Hamilton's financial program worked to the disadvantage of the common man, and that government should be run by capable leaders, but only in the interest of the common people. Jeffersonians also supported the Revolution in France which tended to identify them with the cause of the people. There were now clearly two sides. The views of Hamilton prevailed; in 1793, therefore, Jefferson resigned from the Cabinet to form the Democratic-Republican party. Thus, the country disregarded the views of Washington because these views were found to be unworkable when the struggle for power came. America chose parties rather than bullets or some other manner to direct this struggle for power. The formal two-party system began in earnest with Jefferson's campaign and election as third President in 1800.

Jeffersonian Democracy Begins to Emerge

In 1792, Washington was so popular that there was little opposition to his re-election, but in 1796, Washington declined to accept a third term. The stage was set for politics--our first national political campaign debating the role of the federal government. The results were confusing. John Adams, a Federalist, was elected President and Thomas Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican became Vice-President. This is the only time in the history of our country that we have had a President and Vice President of different parties.

However, the Federalist tide was on the wane because of the growing acceptance of democratic ideals as opposed to the aristocratic views of the Federalist. John Adams would be the only Federalist elected to the Presidency because their control over the executive and legislative branches of government ended with their defeat in 1800. For the next twenty years, Democractic-Republican presidents reigned supreme.

The Federalist party disappeared after it lost the Presidential race in 1816. The Federalists did not even put up a candidate in 1820; hence, we once more had a one-party country in the "era of good feelings". Monroe was elected President in 1820 with only one dissenting vote--that vote came from an elector who did not oppose Monroe, but who felt that Washington should be the only President elected by unanimous choice. But all was not well within the Democratic-Republican party. This was an era of hard feelings within the Democratic-Republican party. The Democratic-Republicans split into two factions. One faction, led by John Quincy Adams, later called the National Republicans, (and by some historians America's first third party) took the more conservative side. Adams was elected President over Andrew Jackson, and the Liberal faction was later called the Democrats. However, after his defeat, Jackson emphasized the corrupt election of 1824, and the aristocratic views of Adams. Therefore, in 1828 the other faction, the Democratic-Republicans, won the Presidency with Andrew Jackson. The electorate was expanded during the Jacksonian period; hence, it became more fashionable to support the masses. Thus Jackson's party shortened its name to its present title of Democrat so it could appeal to the common people. Jacksonian democracy differed from Jeffersonian democracy in such a dramatic way that it signaled the beginning of a new era. The common man assumed much more importance than he had under Jefferson. Jackson who was tested first and then received the lesson afterwards, believed that any man was capable of holding any public office.

Jackson's re-election, and the growing democratic feeling doomed the national Republican party. The Democratic party did not lose an election until William Henry Harrison, a Whig, was elected President in 1840. The Whigs were made up of the old conservative National Republicans, Anti-Jackson Democrats, and Nullificationists. The shortlived Whig party was able to win only two Presidential elections--William Henry Harrison in 1840 and Zachary Taylor in 1848.

American Parties After 1850

In the 1850's the slavery issue, as well as the tariff issue, became more violent. The Northern and Southern Democrats were in a feud over slavery. The South had come to believe that slavery was not a necessary evil, but a positive good while the North was becoming more anti-slavery. The Whig party broke up, and a new party was formed whose central plank was anti-slavery. In 1854, the Whigs, conservative Democrats and Free Soilers organized the present day Republican Party. The newly formed Republican party nominated and elected Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

The Republicans chose the name Republican because they felt it was the only term that could even try to match the emotional connotation of the term Democrat. The election of Lincoln was the signal for South Carolina to secede from the Union. Thus the issue between the two parties in 1860, as Washington had warned, was "founded on geographical discrimination," which as he had feared would lead to civil war.

After the Civil War the Republicans became part of the Union by "waving the bloody shirt" and by using such slogans as "vote as you shot." From the years of 1861 to 1932, the Republicans held control of the Presidency with the exceptions of Cleveland and later Wilson. The Roosevelt Revolution of 1932 produced a new era for the Democrats. The single exception here was Eisenhower who won the Presidency not only because of his party, but also because of his popularity.

In retrospect the party names have changed but the broad groups continue. There are still traces of the old distinctions between the Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans. Today there are many differences among groups, but these differences overlap considerably with those of other groups so that no issue becomes so bitter as to blot out the many other differences.

FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

By "function" we mean the service that the political parties perform for the entire nation. The general function of a political party in America is to control and direct the struggle for power. From this function all other functions derive. The range of power lies anywhere between ballots and bullets. If our parties did not exist, the struggle for power would go on without them.

The chief functions of our parties are as follows:

1. Nomination: A party acts as a huge screening device for the selection of candidates.

2. Education: A party informs the public of the issues involved, but also at times it distorts the issues.

3. Finance: A party raises funds which make it possible for the person of modest means to run for office. A party finances the struggle for the control of power.

4. Patronage: Parties serve as large personnel agencies by providing party members to fill any government jobs.

5. Mediation: A party brings together many diverse groups in the same party. This provides for moderation and compromise in politics which is essential for our democratic system.

6. Social organization: A party provides a sense of identity in our impersonal society.

7. Humanitarian: A party helps some people out in time of need. Usually, the person who is helped will vote for the party who helped him out. The humanitarian function is not as prevalent as it was in the past.

8. Loyal opposition: The party out of power performs the function of being a watchdog over the party in power. The opposition hopes eventually to gain control of the government, but continues to be loyal to our government institutions.

9. Cooperation: A party provides the basis of cooperation between the different branches of government and between the different levels of government.

10. Conduct campaign: A party is responsible for conducting the campaign in such a way as to present its issues to the voters in order to get its candidates elected.

By performing these functions our parties have played a vital role in creating unity in America.

OUR TWO MAJOR PARTIES

Nothing quite captures the spirit of our two major parties as do their emblems. Both party symbols, as well as our popular conception of Santa Claus, were created by Thomas Nast for Harpers Weekly in the 1860's. The rough, long-lived donkey--the perfect symbol of the rowdy Democrats, (rowdy--always kicking up a fuss); and the majestic elephant--the perfect symbol of the respectable Republican (Republican--largeness and strength). The donkey in the past was the made of transportation of the common man. Indeed, Andrew Jackson rode a donkey during his campaigns of 1828 and 1832. The Democratic Party adopted the donkey as its symbol in order to appeal to the common man. (In 1968, donkeys drew the wagon carrying the coffin of Civil Rights Leader Martin Luther King, Jr.) The symbol of the elephant appeared for the first time on a banner at the convention that nominated Lincoln for President in 1860.

The attributes presently ascribed to the donkey and elephant, of course, depend on the point of view. To the party members, the donkey is a symbol of homely, down-to-earth appeal while the elephant stands for intelligence and impressive strength. Many states including Indiana, have adopted other symbols for the major parties.

Minor party symbols that have become familiar are the two-humped camel for the Prohibition Party and the arm and hammer for the Socialist Labor Party.

PARTY EMBLEMS

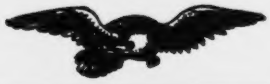
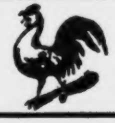
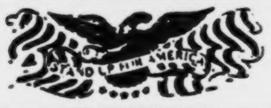
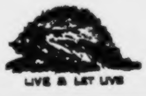
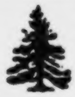
	**REPUBLICAN PARTY**
	**DEMOCRAT PARTY**
	**AMERICAN PARTY**
	**LIBERTARIAN PARTY**
	**THE CITIZENS' PARTY**

Image and Philosophy

At best when we discuss the image and philosophy of each party in a work of this kind we can only make sweeping generalizations. However, these generalizations cannot be considered completely valid since there are numerous exceptions. It is especially difficult to examine the image and philosophy of the current Democratic and Republican parties because these principles are constantly changing.

We should, however, try to keep one point in mind when we are discussing the image and philosophy of each of the major parties. That is, American politics demand that the parties overlap in principle, character, appeal, and purpose so that they may win national elections. Hence, in some respects there are little differences between Republicans and Democrats. In 1964, when the Republicans deviated from this philosophy and nominated a conservative, the vote responded by giving the Democratic candidate a resounding majority. In 1972, the Democrats learned the same lesson when they nominated a liberal candidate. Voters tend to shy away from candidates from either the extreme right or left.

VOTING BY GROUPS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1952–1980
(By Percent of Votes Reported Cast)

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968			1972		1976			1980		
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	AIP	D	R	D	R	I	D	R	I
National	44.6	55.4	42.2	57.8	50.1	49.9	61.3	38.7	43.0	43.4	13.6	37.5	60.7	50	48	1	41	50.7	6.6
Sex																			
Men	47	53	45	55	52	48	60	40	41	43	16	37	63	53	45	1	38	53	7
Women	42	58	39	61	49	51	62	38	45	43	12	38	62	48	51	*	44	49	6
Race																			
White	43	57	41	59	49	51	59	41	38	47	15	32	68	46	52	1	36	56	7
non-white	79	21	61	39	68	32	94	6	85	12	3	87	13	85	15	*	86	10	2
Education																			
College	34	66	31	69	39	61	52	48	37	54	9	37	63	42	55	2	35	53	10
High school	45	55	42	58	52	48	62	38	42	43	15	34	66	54	46	*	43	51	5
Grade school	52	48	50	50	55	45	66	34	52	33	15	49	51	58	41	1	54	42	3
Occupation																			
Professional and business	36	64	32	68	42	58	54	46	34	56	10	31	69	42	56	1	33	55	10
White-collar	40	60	37	63	48	52	57	43	41	47	12	36	64	50	48	2	40	51	9
Manual	55	45	50	50	60	40	71	29	50	35	15	43	57	58	41	1	48	46	5
Members of labor union families	61	39	57	43	65	35	73	27	56	29	15	46	54	63	36	1	50	43	5
Age																			
Under 30 years	51	49	43	57	54	46	64	36	47	38	15	48	52	53	45	1	47	41	11
30–49 years	47	53	45	55	54	46	63	37	44	41	15	33	67	48	49	2	38	52	8
50 years or older	39	61	39	61	46	54	59	41	41	47	12	36	64	52	48	*	41	54	4
Religion																			
Protestants	37	63	37	63	38	62	55	45	35	49	16	30	70	46	53	*	39	54	6
Catholics	56	44	51	49	78	22	76	24	59	33	8	48	52	57	42	1	46	47	6
Politics																			
Republicans	8	92	4	96	5	95	20	80	9	86	5	5	95	9	91	*	8	86	5
Democrats	77	23	85	15	84	16	87	13	74	12	14	67	33	82	18	*	69	26	4
Independents	35	65	30	70	43	57	56	44	31	44	25	31	69	38	57	4	29	55	14
Region																			
East	45	55	40	60	53	47	68	32	50	43	7	42	58	51	47	1	43	47	9
Midwest	42	58	41	59	48	52	61	39	44	47	9	40	60	48	50	1	41	51	7
South	51	49	49	51	51	49	52	48	31	36	33	29	71	54	45	*	44	52	3
West	42	58	43	57	49	51	60	40	44	49	7	41	59	46	51	1	35	54	9

D = Democratic candidate; R = Republican; AIP = American Independent Party Candidate (George Wallace, 1968); I = Independent candidate (Eugene McCarthy, 1976; John B. Anderson, 1980). Figures do not add to 100% in some groups because of rounding and/or minor party votes. *Less than 1%
Source: *The Gallup Opinion Index*, Report No. 183, December 1980.

Taken from Magruder's American Government by Allyn & Bacon, 1985
Revised by William A. McClenaghan

THIRD PARTIES

The two-party system is really a part of our tradition in America. Nonetheless, third parties have left their mark on the American scene. A third party is any party which seldom finishes better than third. These minor parties are important because they provide for new issues to be introduced to the public. They provide a way for some people to let off steam or serve as safety valves for discontent. And, they have at various time in our history provided opposition to the major parties. However, at the other extreme, no major party has resulted from a third party's gradual growth--even the Republicans began as a major party. The reason for the ascendancy of the two-party system is that major parties move almost instinctively to absorb, and thus be reshaped by the most challenging third party of the time.

THIRD PARTIES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS*

Year	Party	Presidential Candidate	Percentage of Vote	Electoral Vote
1832	Anti-Masonic	William Wirt	7.8	7
1856	American (Know Nothing)	Millard Fillmore	21.5	8
1860	Democratic (Secessionist)	J. C. Breckinridge	18.1	72
1860	Constitutional Union	John Bell	12.6	39
1892	People's (Populist)	James B. Weaver	8.6	22
1912	Progressive	Theodore Roosevelt	27.4	88
1924	Progressive	Robert M. La Follette	16.6	13
1948	States' Rights	Strom Thurmond	2.4	39
1968	American Independent	George C. Wallace	13.5	46
1980	National Unity Ticket	John B. Anderson	6.6	0

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*Government by the People by James Mac Gregor Burns, J. W. Peltason and Thomas E. Cronin, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1984

Types of Third Parties

There have existed in our history several distinguishable types of third parties:

1. The left or right wing splinter. Example: The Socialist Party. This party has often polled more votes than any other minor party. Its two greatest spokesmen and Presidential candidates have been Eugene V. Debs (who ran five times from 1899-1920) and Norman Thomas (who ran six times from 1928-1948). Most of the Socialist platforms have emphasized a number of social and economic reforms; many of which were taken over and put into law by the New Deal. The Socialist Party, as contrasted to the Socialist Labor Party, has little in common with Marxist socialism.

2. The champion of a cause. Example: The Prohibition Party. The Prohibition Party is the third oldest party in the United States. It has named a presidential candidate in every election since 1872. It has never polled many votes. The national outlawing of alcoholic beverages is clearly what has held the party together, although it has espoused other causes. Its most important achievement was, of course, the Twenty-first Amendment outlawing prohibition.

3. The one state party. Example: The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. Its support came from as its name suggests, the farmers and laborers. By the mid-1920's the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party had sent two of its members to the U. S. Senate. Through the 1930's it was the Republican Party's chief rival for supremacy in state elections, and it won each gubernatorial election from 1930-36. Its decline started in 1938 when Harold Stassen, Republican, unseated Governor Benson. This defeat and the growning influence of the Communists combined to discredit the party.

4. The personal following of a hero. Example: The Bull Moose or Progressive Party of Teddy Roosevelt of 1912.
The Progressives, who believed that "the cure for the ills of Democracy is more democracy," were determined to block the renomination of Taft. At first the Progressives supported Senator LaFollette, but ex-President Teddy Roosevelt announced his own candidacy combined with a progressive program; so the Progressive Party switched their support to him. Teddy Roosevelt gave the party its nickname when he told an inquirer of his health, "I feel fit as a bull moose." Roosevelt beat Taft, but succeeded only in propelling Woodrow Wilson into the Presidency.

5. A wing of the major party. Example: The Dixiecrats of 1948. The South decided to show that they would not accept a civil rights candidate. The revolt was started by Harry Truman's strong stand on civil rights. At Birmingham the party adopted a strong state's rights platform and anti-Truman program, and "suggested" Governor Thurmond for President. Thurmond was not a third party candidate in four states, but really regular Democratic candidate. The scheme was really not to win the Presidency but to prevent Truman or Dewey from capturing a majority of the electoral vote, thus throwing the election into the house where the South thought they could compromise with the winning candidate.

6. A true third party. Example: The Populists.
In the 1890's the leaders of the Northern and Southern alliances decided the time was ripe to pick up where the Greenback Labor Party left off. Accordingly these leaders, as well as several national labor unions, in 1892 founded the People's Party which was quickly nicknamed "the Populist Party." The party program included such demands as the issuance of more paper money and the free coinage of silver, progressive income tax, lower tariffs, and government ownership of railroads and telegraphs. Its first Presidential candidate, General Weaver, polled 1,040,866 popular votes out of 12,052,000 and 22 votes in the Electoral College. Accordingly, the Populists began to dream of the Presidency in 1896. Meanwhile the Democratic convention was held prior to the Populist convention. The Democrats nominated Bryan and adopted several other Populist measures. Thus the Democrats stole the thunder of the Populist Party. The Populists held their convention and also nominated Bryan instead of nominating their own candidate. Thus they took the half loaf rather than holding out for the whole loaf, but ended up with no loaf at all. The Populists never recovered from this defeat of 1896. However, almost all of the Populist measures except government ownership of railways and telegraphs were adopted.

7. Third parties.
In Indiana it takes two percent of the Secretary of State vote (35,040 signatures) for a party to get on the ballot. The Libertarians, founded in 1971, advocate the rights of individuals to life, liberty, and property. They were on the 1984 ballot and are on the 1986 ballot.

STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The organization of our parties is not in a hierarchy but a number of layers. Each layer--local, state, and national--is independent of the others. Basically, the top layer is powerless except for a few months every fourth year. National party agencies seldom dominate the political life of the country because the power of the party resides in the state and local organizations. Our national parties are little more than alliances of state and local parties joined every four years for the purpose of trying to win a national election. Indeed, unless workers at the lowest level are efficiently organized, a party's interest at the national level is in danger.

The National Machinery

We shall now examine the actual party machinery at the national level keeping in mind that the party organization at the state level is about the same as that on the national level.

1. The National Convention--delegates from the fifty states and territories meet every four years to select party candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, and to determine policy through the writing of the platform. Apart from these functions the convention has little power.

2. The National Committee--is necessary because national conventions are not continuous. Between conventions a party is run by the national chairman and the national committee.

Each state has one national committeeman and one national committeewoman. The method of nominating national committee members varies from state to state. In some states they are selected by the state convention, (Indiana) in others by national convention delegates, by the state central committee, and in a few, by primaries. Usually there are provisions for additional members from a state that has elected party candidates to the governorship, or to Congress, or that has given a majority vote to the party's Presidential candidate. The chairman is the official spokesman for his party and in theory is selected by the national committee but in practice is selected by the Presidential candidate of both parties. A national committee meets only on a call from the chairman which is very infrequent. The committee offers advice during the campaign, meets to determine the date and place of the convention. If there is rivalry among the prominent figures in the party, then the committee may resolve that conflict. The committee never actually runs the party or determines party policy except in the sense of ratifying proposals.

3. Congressional Campaign Committees--were organized in 1866 when the Republicans in the House and the Senate had reason to believe that President Andrew Johnson would not use the national Republican organization to help re-elect them. Consequently, each House in Congress has a Congressional Campaign Committee whose job was to assist in the re-election of members of Congress. Congressional Campaign Committees are needed because most of the national party finances go into the presidential campaign. The Congressional Campaign Committees are much more in evidence in the years between presidential elections than during the years of the presidential elections. Voters elect a Precinct Committeeman or Committeewoman.

State and Local Organization

Each party's organization begins at the grass roots level--the precinct. The voters of each party, in each precinct, elect a Precinct Committeeman at the primary. The Precinct Committeeman appoints a Vice Committeeman of the opposite sex and not a close relative. These two persons in each party in each precinct are their party's liaison with the voters. They are responsible for representing their party at the polling place on election day. They pass out campaign literature, register voters, poll the precinct, organize precinct meetings, get the voters to the polls, and do anything that will help win the election for their party in their precinct. In Vanderburgh County, the Precinct Committeeman and Vice Committeeman from each of the 157 precincts (125 city, 32 county) compose the party Central Committee.

The Central Committee elects the party county officers: Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. The county Central Committee officers are county, township, or city. These officers, particulary the Chairmen, are very important and hold powerful positions. The County Chairman and Vice Chairman from each party in each county make up the District Committee.

The District Committee elects the District officers: Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. There are ten district committees in each party in Indiana. The District Committee is primarily a party power position as only one office, U.S. Representative, is elected district-wide. The District Chairman and Vice Chairman from each party form the State Central Committee.

The State Central Committee elects the state officers: Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. The State Committee has a great deal of influence on state government. They must organize the State Convention, at which statewide public office candidates--except the Governor and Lieutenant Governor--are nominated. Also at the State Convention, delegates to the National Convention are selected, as well as Presidential Electors. The State Chairman is often the party spokesman for his party on statewide matters.

In Indiana, each party follows this same basic structure: precinct, county, district, and state. Other committees, such as ward, platform, finance, etc. are used extensively.

THE A B C's OF POLITICS

Party Organziation

The first step in the biennial reconstruction of the party organization is taken by the voters in the May primary. In each precinct a committeeman/woman is elected. Immediately after his/her election the committeeman/woman appoints a vice-committeeman/woman of the opposite sex.

All the precinct committeemen/women and vice-committeemen/women in a county constitute the county committee of the party.

A meeting or county convention is held at the time fixed by law--Saturday following primary election day. At this meeting a county chairman and a vice-chairman are elected along with a treasurer and secretary.

The committeemen/women and vice-committeemen/women within any city may form a city organization with a chairman, vice-chairman etc. In the more populous counties, ward or township organizations are also set up. These special organizations within the county are partly the result of legal requirements and in part are based on custom.

The county chairmen and vice-chairmen in the counties in each of the ten congressional districts together constitute the congressional district committee. In convention they select a district chairman, vice-chairman, and other officials.

These 20 district chairmen and vice-chairmen together form the state central committee of the party.

To complete the regular organization of the party, the state central committee elects a chairman and vice-chairman and other necessary officers and committees.

Thus, gradually through the action of primary election and a series of committee or convention election procedures we get the party organization set up.

The Precinct

The precinct is the unit cell of the political party organization. In November 1984, there were 4,758 precincts in the state. The number of precincts in the county varied from eight in Ohio County to 761 in Marion County. In the populous counties in which voting machines are used there will usually be 600 to 800 voters in each precinct. In the sparsely populated rural counties a precinct will usually have 250 to 400 voters in it.

Mention has been made of the precinct committeeman/woman's part as a member of the county committee. His/her main duties as a party administrative officer, however, are carried on in his/her precinct.

His/her first important legal duty is to appoint a vice-committeeman/woman. Along with his/her vice-committeeman/woman, he/she must attend the county convention to help set up the county organization. These are the only strictly legal required duties of the precinct committeeman/woman. His/her other duties, some of which may be required any day in the year, are the result of party rules and customs.

The committeeman/woman is the party's contact person in the precinct. He/she seeks to make friends and supporters for his/her party. To do this, he/she may make friendly calls on families, visit families in bereavement, or render friendly neighborly services whenever occasion demands them. Such services as these are what might be called personal or social.

Before the election and during the campaign, the committeeman/woman takes at least one poll of the voters in his/her precinct determining so far as possible the party choice of each voter in the precinct. He/she is responsible for the campaign to get the voters of his/her party in the precinct registered in due time. On election day, his/her job is to see that the voters get out to vote. These are purely political campaign duties.

In an advisory capacity the precinct committeeman/woman may assist the county chairman in selecting persons to recommend for appointment to appointive jobs. He/she may suggest persons for the various positions filled through appointment by the county chairman. He/she may also suggest persons for appointment to positions in which the law requires appointments to be made only upon recommendation of the county chairman.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

Voters in the May Primary	elect	Precinct Committeeperson
Precinct Committeeperson	appoints	Vice Precinct Committeeperson
Precinct Committeeperson Vice Committeeperson	make up	County Central Committee
County Central Committee	elects	County Chairperson County Vice Chairperson
County Chairperson Vice Chairperson	make up	District Central Committee
District Central Committee	elects	District Chairperson District Vice Chairperson
District Chairperson Vice Chairperson	make up	State Central Committee
State Central Committee	elects	State Chairperson State Vice Chairperson Members of the National Committee
Members of the National Committee State Chairperson Vice Chairperson	make up	National Committee
National Committee	elects	National Chairperson National Vice Chairperson

The party organization has its roots at the level of the precinct committeeperson. Elected by the voters in the May primary, the precinct committeeperson appoints a vice-committeeperson of the opposite sex. Precinct committees then proceed to organize and elect county officers who in turn elect congressional district officers, who ultimately elect state officers.

MONEY IN ELECTIONS

Political activities, especially campaigns for public office, cost money--and often a great deal of it. That fact gives rise to some of the most difficult of all of the many problems in American politics.

There is ever present the threat that some candidates will try to buy their way into public office. And there is always the possibility that some special interests will try to buy favors from those who are elected to office.

Certainly, government by the people must be guarded against these dangers. But how? Parties and their candidates must have money. Without it, they can't campaign--they can't take steps to inform the voters and attract their support. In short, dollars are an absolutely necessary campaign resource. Yet, their getting, and their spending, can corrupt the entire political process.

Will Rogers once remarked "Politics has got so expensive that it takes a lot of money even to get beat with" and that American elections might be "decided by bullion and not by ballot." Another writer has observed that campaign funds are made up of:

Coppers - from the general public; plus
Nickels - from the candidates' personal friends; plus
Silver - from persons who hated the opposition and wanted some kind of revenge; plus
Gold - from persons who want something from the winners.

Our lawmakers have, to a considerable extent, shared these above apprehensions, and thus have sought to regulate party finances so that there is little possibility that the rich control the government. Total costs during a presidential election year may be approximately 1.5 billion dollars.

The fact that the public money is available now prompts more presidential hopefuls to enter the pre-convention struggle than was the case before the subsidies were put in place.

In 1984, all presidential hopefuls, combined, spent some $140 million in the pre-convention period--including the nearly $35 million the FEC gave to the one GOP contender (Ronald Reagan) and, altogether, nine aspirants in the Democratic Party.

National Conventions

If a major party applies for the money--and both of them did in 1976, 1980, and 1984--it automatically receives a grant to pay for its national convention. The Republicans and the Democrats each got $8.08 million from the FEC for that purpose in 1984.

Presidential Campaigns

Each major party presidential nominee automatically qualifies for a public subsidy to cover the costs of the general election campaign. For 1984, the Reagan and the Mondale campaigns each received $40.4 million from the FEC.

A party's candidate can refuse the public money, of course. Should that ever happen, the candidate would then be free to raise however much he or she could from private sources.

So far, the nominees of both major parties have taken the public money each time--1976, 1980, and most recently in 1984. Because they did so, each of them automatically: (1) could spend no more than the amount of the subsidy for the presidential campaign, and (2) could not accept campaign funds from any other source.

CAMPAIGN SPENDING, MAJOR PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, 1952–1984

(in millions of dollars)

1952	$ 6.61	Eisenhower*	$ 5.03	Stevenson
1956	7.78	Eisenhower*	5.11	Stevenson
1960	10.13	Nixon	9.80	Kennedy*
1964	16.03	Goldwater	8.76	Johnson*
1968	25.40	Nixon*	11.60	Humphrey
1972	61.40	Nixon*	30.00	McGovern
1976	21.79	Ford	21.80	Carter*
1980	29.19	Reagan*	29.35	Carter
1984	40.40	Reagan*	40.40	Mondale

***Indicates winner of presidential election.**
Source: **Adapted from Herbert E. Alexander, *Financing Politics: Money, Elections and Reform* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 3rd ed., 1984), p. 7, 1984 data from Federal Election Commission.**

Magruder's American Government by Allyn & Bacon 1985

A minor party candidate may also qualify for public funding--but not automatically. To be eligible, the minor party must either: (1) have won at least five percent of the popular vote in the last presidential election or (2) win at least that much of the vote in the current election.

How Much?

No one really knows how much money is spent on elections in the United States. Reliable estimates of total campaign spending in recent presidential election years--for all offices at all levels, including nominations and general elections--show this:

	Estimated Spending	Vote Cast for President	Cost per Vote
1952	$140 million	61.6 million	2.28
1956	155 million	62.0 million	2.50
1960	175 million	68.8 million	2.54
1964	200 million	70.6 million	2.83
1968	300 million	73.2 million	4.10
1972	425 million	77.7 million	5.47
1976	540 million	81.6 million	6.62
1980	1.2 billion	86.5 million	13.87
1984	1.5 billion	93.2 million	16.09

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The presidential election eats up by far the largest share of campaign dollars. For 1984, total spending--for all of the pre-convention primaries, the national party conventions, the campaign itself, and for all minor party and independent efforts--was at least $325 million. The comparable figure for 1980 was $275 million, (and $160 million in 1976).

The totals for all the U. S. Senate and House races in 1984 reached $400 million, (up from $343 million in 1982), and likely will reach $450 million in 1986.

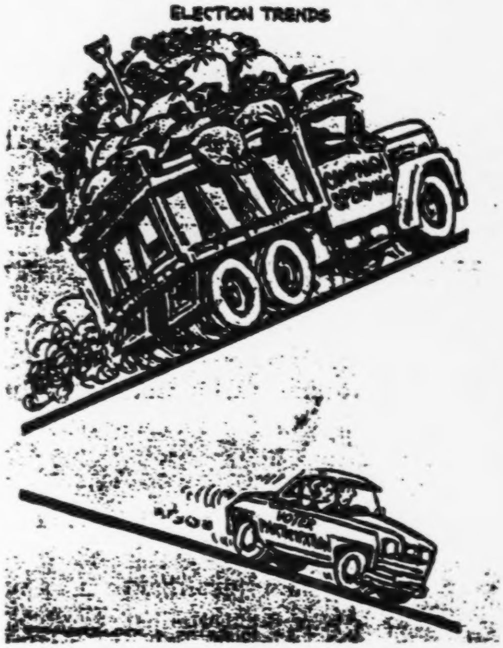
Radio and especially television time, paper, printing, newspaper advertisements, pamphlets, buttons, posters, and bumper strips, office rent, furniture and equipment, mass mailings, travel--these and a host of other items make up the huge sums spent in campaigns. Television is by far the largest item in a typical campaign budget today.

State Regulation

All of the states now regulate party finance; nearly all states require parties and/or candidates to file statements of expenditures; many states stipulate who may or may not contribute, such as labor unions and corporations; many states prohibit corrupt practices such as bribery and intimidation of voters.

The Results of Legal Regulation

People can obey the letter of the law while disobeying the spirit. For example, individuals may give to as many committees as they wish, and contribute for as many members of their family as they desire. All major special interests and political action committees contribute large sums of money to candidates and parties of their choice.



From Herblock's *On All Fronts*
(New American Library, 1980)

Magruder's American Government by Allyn & Bacon
1985

Party Promises

Often the party platform is singled out as being nonsensical and useless because the planks are vague, because sometimes the platform is silent altogether about controversial questions, and because few voters read the platform.

On the other hand, convention delegates seem to take the platform quite seriously--though controversies over the content and wording of the platform often occur at the convention.

The critics of the party platform seem to miss the crucial point--that the party platform plays a strategic role in the struggle for nomination, quest for unity, and pursuit of votes. Since the platform is written before the selection of the candidate it must leave room for the eventual winner to stand upon, and still leave room so that each of the eventual losers feels that the ideas of his group have not been repudiated by the party. Hence, the party platform provides for unity.

Ways of Raising Funds for A Party

Contributions from special interest groups
Selling tickets to dinners
Assessment of candidates for office
Selling souvenirs
Door-to-door solicitation
Raffles
Voluntary contribution from patronage employees
Federal income tax deduction
Selling campaign gimmicks
Bucket brigades
Contributions from individuals on a regular basis

Qualifications to Vote in Elections

United States citizen
Eighteen years of age
Thirty days residency in the precinct
Must be registered

To establish his eligibility to vote, the citizen must register as a voter. The registration requirements in Indiana are comparatively simple. They have the purpose of assuring, insofar as possible, that only those legally entitled to cast ballots shall be permitted to vote. Once he is registered, a voter need not register again unless he fails to vote (failure to vote for two years may cause your name to be removed from registration roles) or unless he moves his residence from one precinct to another. In these cases, he must reinstate or transfer his registration. County Clerks and Boards of Registration are required to notify, by mail, after each General Election, citizens whose registrations have been suspended for failure to vote. A citizen may register in person at the Voters Registration Office. He may choose to register at his home during the door-to-door registration which occurs for a period of time prior to each primary and fall election. A third way to register is by absentee registration. This can be accomplished by notifying the Voters Registration Office of your permanent address and your temporary address and they will mail the necessary forms. This method of registering is particularly convenient for college students and military personnel. College students have a choice of registering in the city of the college they attend or by voting an absentee ballot.

New registration periods start soon after each Primary, General, or City election, and continue to the thirty (30) days preceding the next election.

Determining Qualifications and Administering Laws

Our Federal Constitution states that each of the individual states has the power by law to determine the qualifications of its voters as well as to decide when its elections shall be held. This power is exercised by the legislatures of the respective states. In Indiana it is the duty of the State Election Board to supervise all elections and administer the election laws of the state as they relate to federal and state elective officers.

The County Election Board is vested with the power and charged with the duty of conducting all elections and administering the election laws within the county.

In charge of the election at the polls is the inspector, one judge from each party, plus one sheriff and one clerk from each party, each with his respective duties regarding the procedures of the election.

Qualifications for Voting in Other States

Voting qualifications vary from state to state and may include any or all of the following: registration, citizenship, age, literacy and residence. In a few states a tax payment is required in state and local elections.

Persons who wish to vote are required by law to appear before election officials, show their ability to meet certain legal requirements and have their name placed upon the voting list. This is known as registration. Registration laws differ in various states. Some states have "permanent" registration. In these states a voter need register only once. He would not have to register again unless he failed to vote for a number of years or changed residence. Other states have periodic systems by which voters are required to register anew at regular intervals. In most states it is necessary to register on certain days or at least be registered before a given election. In some states, however, a person is permitted to establish his voting qualifications on Election Day.

Many states had qualifications for voting which tended to prevent certain groups of citizens from voting. These qualifications included literacy tests, tax-paying requirements, and extended residency requirements. By the 1972 Presidential election, court rulings and constitutional amendments had eliminated these prohibitions on voting in Presidential elections.

The Constitution on Voting

Article I, Section 2 states that, "the electors of each state (voting for members of the House of Representatives) shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature." It further provided for members of the Electoral College to be selected in each state, "insuch manner as the legislature thereof may direct." All states allow people to choose the electors.

Eight amendments deal with voting. Amendment XII of the Constitution directs each elector to vote separately for President and Vice President.

The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) forbade unreasonable discrimination between people in election laws as in other laws. The same amendment also threatens the states with loss of representatives in Congress as a penalty for denying adult male citizens the right to vote in state and national elections.

The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) forbade abridgement of the right to vote, "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The purpose of this amendment was to give the Negro the right to vote.

The Seventeenth Amendment (1913) provides for the direct popular election of United States senators in repeating the language of Article I, "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature." Women were granted the right to vote by the Nineteenth Amendment (1920).

The Twenty-first Amendment guarantees that no person can be denied the right to vote because of sex.

The Twenty-third Amendment gave the residents of the District of Columbia the right to vote in Presidential elections.

The Twenty-fourth Amendment prohibits any State from denying the right to vote in a federal election for not paying taxes.

The Twenty-sixth Amendment guarantees the right to vote to any person eighteen years of age.

Who Votes?

In 1876, although there was much corruption, there was also a great interest in voting. In that year 85.8% of the eligible male voters exercised their franchise. The highest percentage in recent times was in the 1960 election when 64.3% of the United States citizenry of voting age went to the polls--in 1964--62.9%, in 1968--61.8%, in 1972--55.5%, in 1976--54.5%, in 1980--53.2%, and in 1984--53.6%.

The number of people who vote is directly in proportion with the amount of education they have; those with more education vote more frequently than those with less.

Men vote more regularly than women; however, this gap is steadily closing and it is expected that women's votes will outnumber the men's.

Persons who identify themselves strongly with one party go to the polls more frequently than those with no or weak party affiliations.

People living in urban areas vote more frequently than those who live in rural areas.

Those who believe that their votes really matter vote in relatively large numbers. This is particularly true in areas where the "two-party" system is very strong.

The economic status of individuals seems to influence participation in voting. The lowest participation occurs at the lowest stage of the economic ladder while the highest participation is among those who are better off economically.

The studies also show that even the Blacks vote less frequently than white. Protestants are less likely to vote than Catholics and Jews. A greater percentage of registered Republicans go to the polls than Democrats.

Who Does Not Vote?

Our population today is highly mobile, but our residence laws in the states have not kept pace. More than 20,000,000 Americans of voting age are on the move every year. Almost all of them have to register. In 1960 an estimated 8,000,000 citizens were ineligible to vote because they could not meet state, county, or precinct requirements for residence. Some of the victims of these out-of-date residence laws include many of our better educated and responsible citizens such as lawyers, teachers, clergymen, and business people whose work takes them from place to place.

Many voters do not get to vote because they fail to secure absentee ballots. Among these are those ill at home, those who are patients in hospitals, those in nursing homes or homes for the aged. Others may be traveling for business, vacation, health, and other reasons, and fail to obtain an absentee ballot. Then there are those who have to forfeit their right to vote because they are suddenly called out of town or incapacitated. Many states make no provisions for such emergencies.

In addition to the above we have the following non-voters who are in some way restricted from voting: United States citizens living abroad, the mentally ill confined to mental care facilities, individuals confined to jail, convicted felons, and those who do not vote because of their religious beliefs.

More than a third of the electorate fails to vote in presidential elections. Elections that occur in the years between presidential elections are called off-year elections. Less than half take part in off-year congressional elections. Some groups are more likely to take part than others. The following gives reasons for not voting in presidential elections:

1. Didn't bother to register or prevented from registering by residence requirements
2. Not interested in politics given as chief reason
3. Didn't like either candidate
4. Sick or disabled
5. Could not leave job, or working two shifts
6. Away from home/traveling
7. Alienated
8. Political efficacy

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Popular and Electoral Vote, 1980 and 1984

(1984 results are preliminary)

Source: News Election Service

	1980					1984			
	Electoral Vote		Democrat	Republican	Indep.	Electoral Vote		Democrat	Republican
States	Carter	Reagan	Carter	Reagan	Anderson	Mondale	Reagan	Mondale	Reagan
Ala. . . .	0	9	636,730	654,192	16,481	0	9	540,445	844,299
Alas. . .	0	3	41,842	86,112	11,156	0	3	51,169	115,390
Ariz. . .	0	6	246,843	529,688	76,952	0	7	325,924	669,353
Ark. . .	0	6	398,041	403,164	22,468	0	6	325,185	505,562
Cal. . . .	0	45	3,083,652	4,524,835	739,832	0	47	3,803,913	5,291,747
Col. . . .	0	7	368,009	652,264	130,633	0	8	434,560	768,711
Conn. . .	0	8	541,732	677,210	171,807	0	8	560,712	883,486
Del. . . .	0	3	105,754	111,252	16,288	0	3	100,632	151,494
D.C. . .	3	0	130,231	23,313	16,131	3	0	172,459	26,805
Fla. . . .	0	17	1,419,475	2,046,951	189,692	0	21	1,373,137	2,512,318
Ga. . . .	12	0	890,733	654,168	36,055	0	12	696,181	1,050,852
Ha. . . .	4	0	135,879	130,112	32,021	0	4	145,975	183,998
Ida. . . .	0	4	110,192	290,699	27,058	0	4	108,447	296,687
Ill. . . .	0	26	1,981,413	2,358,094	346,754	0	24	2,036,337	2,667,721
Ind. . . .	0	13	844,197	1,255,656	111,639	0	12	814,659	1,332,679
Ia. . . .	0	8	508,672	676,026	115,633	0	8	601,946	698,239
Kan. . .	0	7	326,150	566,812	68,231	0	7	321,01C	649,423
Ky. . . .	0	9	617,417	635,274	31,127	0	9	535,704	816,644
La. . . .	0	10	708,453	792,853	26,345	0	10	648,040	1,030,091
Me. . . .	0	4	220,974	238,522	53,327	0	4	212,190	336,113
Md. . .	10	0	726,161	680,606	119,537	0	10	757,635	836,296
Mass. . .	0	14	1,053,802	1,056,223	382,539	0	13	1,219,513	1,293,367
Mich. . .	0	21	1,661,532	1,915,225	275,223	0	20	1,468,512	2,147,147
Minn. . .	10	0	954,173	873,268	174,997	10	0	971,646	941,609
Miss. . .	0	7	429,281	441,089	12,036	0	7	351,195	577,378
Mo. . . .	0	12	931,182	1,074,181	77,920	0	11	808,601	1,242,676
Mon. . .	0	4	118,032	206,814	29,281	0	4	131,975	207,163
Neb. . .	0	5	166,424	419,214	44,854	0	5	183,838	446,938
Nev. . .	0	3	66,666	155,017	17,651	0	4	91,654	188,794
N.H. . .	0	4	108,864	221,705	49,693	0	4	110,268	244,790
N.J. . . .	0	17	1,147,364	1,546,557	234,632	0	16	1,229,206	1,861,774
N.M. . .	0	4	167,826	250,779	29,459	0	5	199,671	302,932
N.Y. . .	0	41	2,728,372	2,893,831	467,801	0	36	3,013,521	3,525,268
N.C. . .	0	13	875,635	915,018	52,800	0	13	809,076	1,314,802
N.D. . .	0	3	79,189	193,695	23,640	0	3	80,839	155,856
Oh. . . .	0	25	1,352,414	2,206,545	254,472	0	23	1,804,870	2,653,691
Okla. . .	0	8	402,026	695,570	38,284	0	8	362,771	793,258
Ore. . .	0	6	456,890	571,044	112,389	0	7	498,237	618,824
Pa. . . .	0	27	1,933,540	2,261,872	292,921	0	25	2,209,137	2,564,273
R.I. . . .	4	0	198,342	154,393	59,819	0	4	191,914	204,450
S.C. . .	0	8	428,220	439,277	13,868	0	8	312,911	555,314
S.D. . .	0	4	103,855	198,343	21,431	0	3	114,967	198,119
Tenn. .	0	10	783,051	787,361	35,991	0	11	705,719	1,002,307
Tex. . .	0	26	1,881,147	2,510,705	111,613	0	29	1,873,499	3,301,024
Ut. . . .	0	4	124,266	439,687	30,284	0	5	154,239	464,535
Vt. . . .	0	3	81,952	94,628	31,761	0	3	94,518	134,252
Va. . . .	0	12	752,174	989,609	95,418	0	12	793,711	1,325,516
Wash. .	0	9	650,193	865,244	185,073	0	10	731,440	939,124
W.Va. . .	6	0	367,462	334,206	31,691	0	6	322,142	396,332
Wis. . .	0	11	981,584	1,088,845	160,657	0	11	992,807	1,206,379
Wyo. . .	0	3	49,427	110,700	12,072	0	3	53,154	131,998
Total . .	49	489	35,481,435	43,899,248	5,719,437	13	525	36,450,613	52,609,797

Taken from The World Almanac & Book of Facts 1986 published by Newspaper Enterprise Association, Incorporated.

REGISTRATION AND VOTING BY GROUPS, 1980

	CATEGORY	PERSONS REPORTING THEY REGISTERED	PERSONS REPORTING THEY VOTED
SEX	Male	66.6% (49.3 million)	59.1% (43.8 million)
	Female	67.1% (55.7 million)	59.4% (49.3 million)
RACE	White	68.4% (94.1 million)	60.9% (83.9 million)
	Black	60.0% (9.8 million)	50.5% (8.3 million)
	Spanish origin	36.3% (3.0 million)	29.9% (2.5 million)
AGE	18-20 years old	44.7% (5.5 million)	35.7% (4.4 million)
	21-24 years old	52.7% (8.4 million)	43.1% (6.8 million)
	25-34 years old	62.0% (22.2 million)	54.6% (19.5 million)
	35-44 years old	70.6% (18 million)	64.4% (16.5 million)
	45-64 years old	75.8% (33 million)	69.3% (30.2 million)
	65 and over	74.6% (18 million)	65.1% (15.7 million)
EDUCATION	8 years or less	53.0% (12 million)	42.6% (9.6 million)
	9-11 years	54.6% (12.3 million)	45.6% (10.2 million)
	12 years	66.4% (40.6 million)	58.9% (36 million)
	More than 12 years	79.1% (40.2 million)	73.2% (37.2 million)
EMPLOYED		68.7% (65.3 million)	61.8% (58.8 million)
UNEMPLOYED		50.3% (3.5 million)	41.2% (2.8 million)

Macmillan Publishing Company:
Government in the United States by Richard Remy, Larry Elowitz, William Berlin

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States

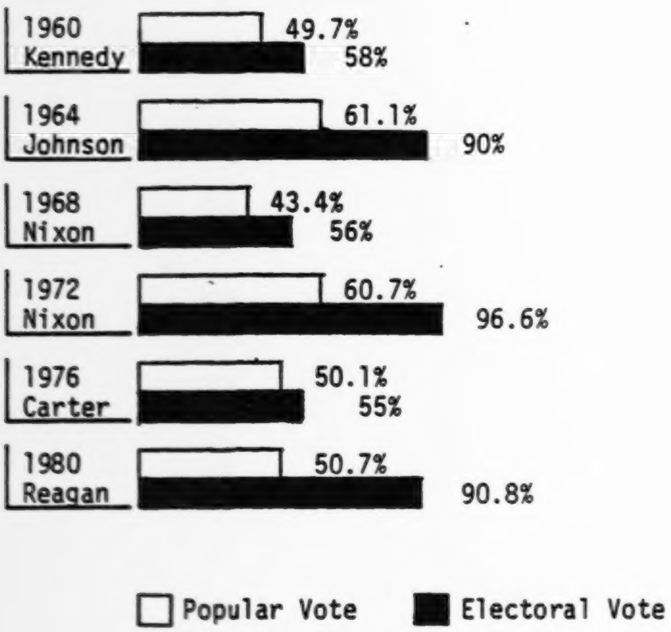
Certainly, the relatively complicated registration procedures and residency requirements have something to do with low voter participation. But in recent years these requirements have been made less burdensome, and voter turnout is still low. The reasons for non-voting seem to lie more deeply. To explore the problem further, it will be useful to examine the differences between regular voters and non-voters.

A Profile of Regular Voters

Citizens who vote regularly have certain positive attitudes toward government and citizenship. They believe that a good citizen has a duty or obligation to vote. Many regular voters are interested in political events, issues, and candidates. They believe their votes will help select leaders who can actually deal effectively with the nation's problems. It makes a difference to them which party and which candidates win. In other words, these voters feel they have a real say in how the government is run.

Investigators have found that education, age, and income are important factors in the regularity with which citizens vote. Education is the most important factor of all. The more education a citizen has, the more likely it is that he or she will be a regular voter. High school graduates vote more frequently than grade school graduates, and college graduates more than high school graduates. Middle-aged citizens have the highest voting turnout of all.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES COMPARED



Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States
Government in the United States by R. Remy, L. Elowitz, Wm. Berlin Macmillan Publishing Company 1984

The larger a state's population, the more electoral votes it has. The twelve biggest states--California (47) New York (36), Texas (29), Pennsylvania (25) Illinois (24), Ohio (23) Florida (21), Michigan (20), New Jersey (16), Massachusetts (13), North Carolina (13), and Indiana (12)--have a total of 279 electoral votes. If a candidate can win all of these "magic dozen" states, that candidate would win the Presidency, since 279 is 9 more than the 270 majority needed.

It makes sense, therefore, for a presidential candidate to devote most of the campaign effort to the big electoral vote states. However, when the magic dozen states appear to be divided between the contenders, then other states with smaller electoral votes become vital to the candidates.

In almost every presidential election, each candidate identifies certain key states which must be carried in order to obtain an electoral vote majority. In 1976, for example, Jimmy Carter, the former governor of Georgia, felt that he could count on winning the Southern states plus a few other states. These would provide a total of 199 electoral votes. He would then need only 71 additional electoral votes to win. Carter and his campaign advisors also identified eight other states with large numbers of electoral votes where he had a reasonably good chance of winning and which would provide these 71 votes.

Carter's chief campaign strategist then determined that a substantial amount of time and money should be devoted to winning these eight states. For each state he based his calculations on several factors: the number of electoral votes of the state, his chances of winning these and how much effort would be required to come out ahead in that state. This strategy worked well, for Carter won in three of the eight states--New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio --giving him 93 electoral votes. These 93 votes along with the 199 votes from the Southern states gave him almost all of the 297 electoral votes that sent him to the White House. Of course, such "game plans" for winning key states do not always work out. In 1980 Carter again expected to do well in the South. Unfortunately for him, his challenger Ronald Reagan, carried not only that region (except for Carter's home state of Georgia) but most of the rest of the country as well.

FACTORS AFFECTING VOTER TURNOUT
IN AMERICAN ELECTIONS

High Turnout	Lower Turnout
High income	Low income
High education	Low education
Occupation:	Occupation:
Businessman	Unskilled worker
White-collar employee	Servant
Union member	Service worker
	Subsistence farmer
White	Non-white
	First-generation immigrant
Catholic or Jew	Protestant
Homeowner	
Urban, suburban	Rural resident
Northeastern, Middle West, Far West region	Southern region
35 years of age or older	Younger voter
High degree of exposure to political stimuli	Little exposure to political stimuli
Long-time resident in locale	Newcomer to locale
Member of voluntary groups	Isolated individual
Married person	Not married
High political interest in work group	Low political interest in work group
Crisis political situation	Normal political situation
Strong party identification in family	Weak or no party identification in family
Holds strong party identification	Holds weak or no party identification
Strong sense of political effectiveness	No sense of political effectiveness
Strong sense of civic duty	Little sense of civic duty
Perceives personal stake in election	Perceives no personal stake in election
Few cross pressures	Many cross pressures
Lack of cumbersome registration and other election procedures	Restrictive, cumbersome election procedures
National election	State or local election only
Two-party competition	One-party constituency
Absence of community pressures against participation	Community pressures against participation

VOTING BY GROUPS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1952–1980
(By Percent of Votes Reported Cast)

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968			1972		1976			1980		
	D	**R**	**D**	**R**	**D**	**R**	**D**	**R**	**D**	**R**	**AIP**	**D**	**R**	**D**	**R**	**I**	**D**	**R**	**I**
National	44.6	55.4	42.2	57.8	50.1	49.9	61.3	38.7	43.0	43.4	13.6	37.5	60.7	50	48	1	41	50.7	6.6
Sex																			
Men	47	53	45	55	52	48	60	40	41	43	16	37	63	53	45	1	38	53	7
Women	42	58	39	61	49	51	62	38	45	43	12	38	62	48	51	*	44	49	6
Race																			
White	43	57	41	59	49	51	59	41	38	47	15	32	68	46	52	1	36	56	7
non-white	79	21	61	39	68	32	94	6	85	12	3	87	13	85	15	*	86	10	2
Education																			
College	34	66	31	69	39	61	52	48	37	54	9	37	63	42	55	2	35	53	10
High school	45	55	42	58	52	48	62	38	42	43	15	34	66	54	46	*	43	51	5
Grade school	52	48	50	50	55	45	66	34	52	33	15	49	51	58	41	1	54	42	3
Occupation																			
Professional and business	36	64	32	68	42	58	54	46	34	56	10	31	69	42	56	1	33	55	10
White-collar	40	60	37	63	48	52	57	43	41	47	12	36	64	50	48	2	40	51	9
Manual	55	45	50	50	60	40	71	29	50	35	15	43	57	58	41	1	48	46	5
Members of labor union families	61	39	57	43	65	35	73	27	56	29	15	46	54	63	36	1	50	43	5
Age																			
Under 30 years	51	49	43	57	54	46	64	36	47	38	15	48	52	53	45	1	47	41	11
30–49 years	47	53	45	55	54	46	63	37	44	41	15	33	67	48	49	2	38	52	8
50 years or older	39	61	39	61	46	54	59	41	41	47	12	36	64	52	48	*	41	54	4
Religion																			
Protestants	37	63	37	63	38	62	55	45	35	49	16	30	70	46	53	*	39	54	6
Catholics	56	44	51	49	78	22	76	24	59	33	8	48	52	57	42	1	46	47	6
Politics																			
Republicans	8	92	4	96	5	95	20	80	9	86	5	5	95	9	91	*	8	86	5
Democrats	77	23	85	15	84	16	87	13	74	12	14	67	33	82	18	*	69	26	4
Independents	35	65	30	70	43	57	56	44	31	44	25	31	69	38	57	4	29	55	14
Region																			
East	45	55	40	60	53	47	68	32	50	43	7	42	58	51	47	1	43	47	9
Midwest	42	58	41	59	48	52	61	39	44	47	9	40	60	48	50	1	41	51	7
South	51	49	49	51	51	49	52	48	31	36	33	29	71	54	45	*	44	52	3
West	42	58	43	57	49	51	60	40	44	49	7	41	59	46	51	1	35	54	9

D = Democratic candidate; R = Republican; AIP = American Independent Party Candidate (George Wallace, 1968); I = Independent candidate (Eugene McCarthy, 1976; John B. Anderson, 1980). Figures do not add to 100% in some groups because of rounding and/or minor party votes. *Less than 1%
Source: *The Gallup Opinion Index*, Report No. 183, December 1980.

Taken from Magruder's American Government by Allyn & Bacon, 1985
Revised by William A. McClenaghan

Voting by Groups, 1984 Presidential Election

% of Total Vote	Group Characteristics	Reagan %	Mondale %
–59.41	Total	59	41
47	Men	61	37
53	Women	57	42
86	White	66	34
10	Black	9	90
3	Hispanic	33	65
68	Married	63	37
32	Not married	51	47
24	18–29 years old	58	41
34	30–44 years old	58	42
23	45–59 years old	60	39
19	60 and over	63	36
8	Not high school graduate	50	49
30	High school graduate	60	39
30	Some college	59	40
30	Professional or manager	62	37
13	White-collar worker	59	40
14	Blue-collar worker	53	46
3	Unemployed	31	68
26	Union household	45	53
15	Under $12,000 income	46	53
27	$12,500–24,999	57	42
21	$25,000–34,999	59	40
18	$35,000–50,000	67	32
13	Over $50,000	68	31
51	White Protestant	73	26
28	Catholic	55	44
3	Jewish	55	44
15	White born-again Christian	80	20
24	From the East	52	47
28	From the Midwest	61	38
29	From the South	63	36
16	From the West	59	40
35	Republican	92	7
38	Democrat	26	73
26	Independent	63	35
27	Liberal	29	70
44	Moderate	54	46
35	Conservative	81	18
50	Voted for Reagan, 1980	88	11
31	Voted for Carter, 1980	19	80
5	Voted for Anderson, 1980	29	67
8	First-time voter, 1980	10	39

Note: Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to the nature of the category and/or rounding.

Taken from Magruder's American Government by Allyn & Bacon, 1985
Revised by William A. McClenaghan

VOTER TURNOUT, 1932–1984

	Population of Voting Age[a]	Votes Cast for President		Votes Cast for U.S. Representatives	
	(in millions)	(in millions)	(percent)	(in millions)	(percent)
1932	75.768	39.732	52.4	37.657	49.7
1934	77.997	—	—	32.256	41.4
1936	80.174	45.643	56.9	42.886	53.5
1938	82.354	—	—	36.236	44.0
1940	84.728	49.900	58.9	46.951	55.4
1942	86.465	—	—	28.074	32.5
1944	85.654	47.977	56.0	45.103	52.7
1946	92.659	—	—	34.398	37.1
1948	95.573	48.794	51.1	45.933	48.1
1950	98.134	—	—	40.342	41.1
1952	99.929	61.551	61.6	57.571	57.6
1954	102.075	—	—	42.580	41.7
1956	104.515	62.027	59.3	58.428	55.9
1958	106.447	—	—	45.818	43.0
1960	109.672	68.838	62.8	64.133	58.5
1962	112.952	—	—	51.261	45.4
1964	114.090	70.645	61.9	65.886	57.7
1966	116.638	—	—	52.900	45.4
1968	120.285	73.212	60.9	66.109	55.0
1970	124.498	—	—	54.173	43.5
1972	140.068	77.719	55.5	71.188	50.8
1974	145.035	—	—	52.397	36.1
1976	150.127	81.556	54.3	74.419	49.6
1978	155.712	—	—	55.332	35.5
1980	162.761	86.515	53.2	77.995	47.9
1982	169.342	—	—	54.514	38.1
1984	173.936	93.230	53.6	83.663	48.1

[a] **As estimated by Census Bureau. Population 18 years of age and over since ratification of 26th Amendment in 1971; prior to 1971, 21 years and over in all States, except:** 18 years and over in Georgia since 1943 and Kentucky since 1955, 19 years and over in Alaska and 20 and over in Hawaii since 1959.
Source: Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States.*

Taken from Magruder's American Government by Allyn & Bacon, 1985
Revised by William McClenaghan

Psychological Reasons for Not Voting

In interviews conducted by a newspaper reporter in which he asked people why they did not vote in a recent election the following facts were learned:

1. A husband and wife who tend to vote for opposing candidates feel that there is no need to vote because they will cancel each other out.
2. Some said, "What's the use? My vote doesn't make any difference anyway."
3. Many persons do not go to the polls and vote because they get "fed up" with the campaign. They suffer "campaign fatigue" from too much television, radio, door-knocking, and hand-shaking.
4. Many times it is just pure apathy like, "I just didn't get around to it."
5. And then there were expressions like, "Politics is dirty. I don't want any part of it."
6. Members of certain religious groups sometimes face a religious conflict to voting. Jehovah's Witnesses do not want to take part in political affairs.
7. Poll predictions lessen enthusiasm for voting as do TV computer projections from East Coast to West Coast.

METHODS OF VOTING

Australian Ballot

Australian Ballot is the name of a system of voting now generally used in the United States. It was first used in Australia in 1856. A much needed political reform brought it to the United States where Massachusetts enacted it for state elections in 1888. Its two chief points are a ballot given to the voter at the polling place and a booth where he can mark his choice of candidates in private.

The Australian system helps to prevent fraud. The ballots are furnished by the government and delivered to the polls in sealed packages shortly before election. At the close of election every ballot must be accounted for. When the voter enters the booth he is given a ballot marked only with the judge's (or other election official) initials. Upon return from the booth he returns the ballot folded so that only the initials of the officials may be seen. Ballots not properly marked are thrown out at the counting. Ballots initialed and handed out singly at the polls, are a safeguard against ballot-box stuffing.

Also since the voter does not put his name or other identifying mark on the paper no one can tell how he voted. This greatly reduces bribery for the one buying the vote does not know whether he is receiving the vote for which he paid.

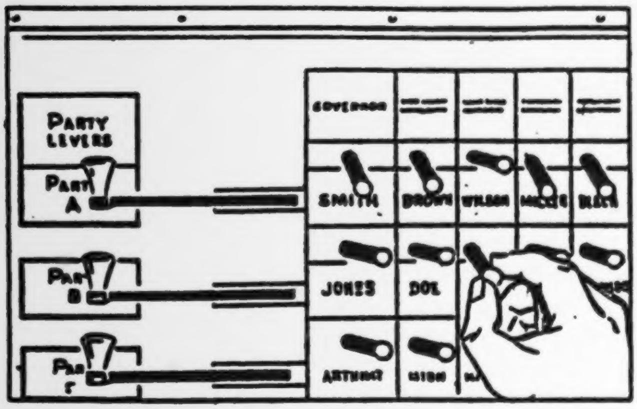
In Indiana (depending where he lives), the voter will vote by paper ballot, machine, computer or punch card.

VOTE

NOVEMBER 4, 1986

Many voters are afraid to split their ticket for fear of losing all of their votes. It's quite simple to mix your votes for candidates in both major parties when using a voting machine. Voting by paper ballot requires more care and attention.

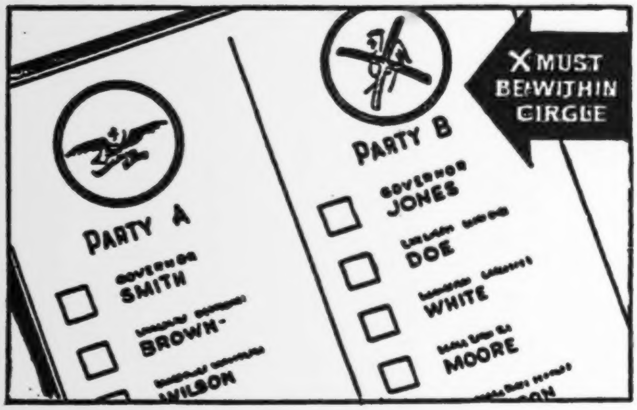
Follow these simple rules in splitting your vote—by machine or paper ballot.



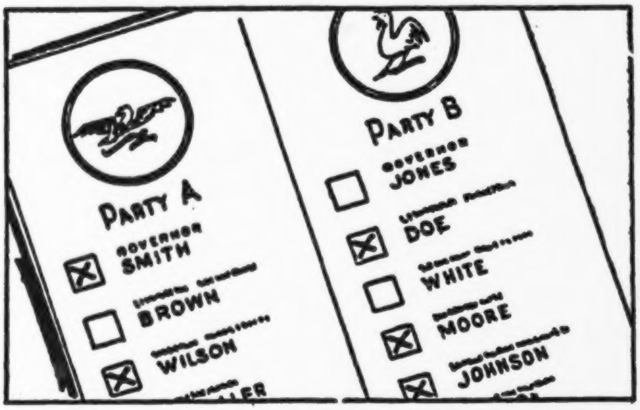
3. The voter decides to cast a vote for Mr. White, a Party B candidate. To vote for White, the voter pushes up the key for White's opponent, Mr. Wilson, and pulls White's key down. It's simple to split your ticket on a voting machine: pull down the key of the candidate you want; push his opponent's key up.

THE PAPER BALLOT

1. Know in advance the candidates you favor. If your newspaper doesn't carry a sample ballot, jot down the candidates' names for whom you wish to vote.
2. You will be given three paper ballots—one each for Congressional, state and county candidates. The candidates of both parties will appear on each paper ballot for the offices covered only on that ballot.
3. You will be given an official blue pencil. Do not use your own pencil or pen. Your ballot will not be counted if you use anything other than the official pencil.
4. If you wish to vote a straight ticket, place an "X" in the circle at the top of the list of candidates for the party of your choice. Be sure your "X" is placed within the circle and doesn't extend beyond because this will disqualify your vote and you automatically lose votes for every person running on the ballot.
5. Be sure you mark your ballot with an "X" rather than a check mark or some other symbol. Only the "X" counts.
6. If you wish to split your ticket, do not put an "X" in the circle with the eagle (Republican symbol) or the rooster (Democratic symbol). Instead, mark each square carefully and neatly with an "X" for each person for whom you wish to vote. Stay within the square. You may go back and forth across the ballot provided you do not vote for two people running for the same office, such as sheriff.
7. To split your voting for multiple choice offices, follow the same procedure. But be careful and vote for only the total number of people for whom you are allowed to cast votes: i.e., six State Representatives (if you are allowed that many), two commissioners, etc.
8. Fold each ballot separately so the election official's initials are on the outside.
9. Drop your ballots in the proper box.



4. To vote a straight ticket on a paper ballot requires that the voter put a large "X" in the circle containing the party's symbol at the top of the ballot. Be sure the "X" doesn't extend beyond the circle and disqualify your vote. Be sure to use only the official pencil provided for voters



5. To split your ticket on a paper ballot requires more thought and care. Do not place an "X" in either circle at the top. The two parties' candidates are listed side by side. Place an "X" in the square before each candidate's name for whom you wish to vote. However, mark only one square for each office.

Voting Machines

The voting machine, invented by Jacob H. Myers, was first tried out in Lockport, N.Y., on April 12, 1892. The speed and efficiency of these machines was first demonstrated in Rochester, N.Y., in the city election of 1892. Voting machines (which are really a form of the Australian Ballot), are widely used today because they save time, insure an accurate count, and prevent illegal marking of ballots. They are used both Primary and General Elections and have replaced the paper ballot for more than 60% of the American voters.

To vote by machine in the Primary Election the following instructions are to be followed:

1. State your name and address to the poll book holders and challengers outside the Election Room.

2. Enter the room. State your name and address to the Election Clerks and sign the Voter's Poll list. (Because this is a Primary Election, which gives you the opportunity of selecting those running for nomination within your party, it is necessary to state the name of your party to the Inspector and the Judges.)

3. Enter the Voting Machine, pull the Red Handle to the right. This closes the curtain and no bell will ring. The Inspector and/or Judge then turns a knob on the outside of the machine which locks the other Party rows. This allows you to nominate and vote for the men in your party who will run for election in November. On the face of the machine are rows of candidates' names -- above each group the names of the offices.

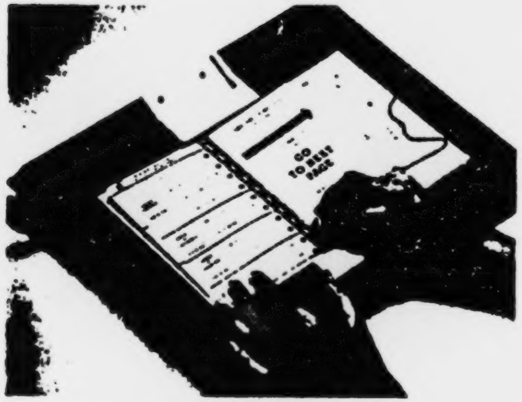
   FIRST: Turn the pointer down over the names of the candidates for whom you wish to vote. (This is a selection from within a party; you do not pull a Party Lever.) An "X" then appears over the names of the candidates.

   SECOND: Check your vote. If you have made an error, move up the pointer over the name of the candidate for whom you do not wish to vote. Then turn down the pointer over the name of the candidate.

   THIRD: When you are satisfied your vote is correct, pull the Red Handle to the left. Your vote then registers and the machine is cleared for use by the next voter and the curtain opens.

You cannot spoil your vote. Turning down a pointer does not register until you move the red handle to the left.

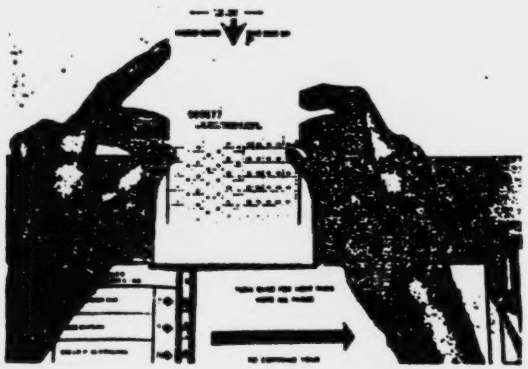
HOW TO VOTE ON THE CES VOTOMATIC



PRESENTING
THE
CES
VOTOMATIC

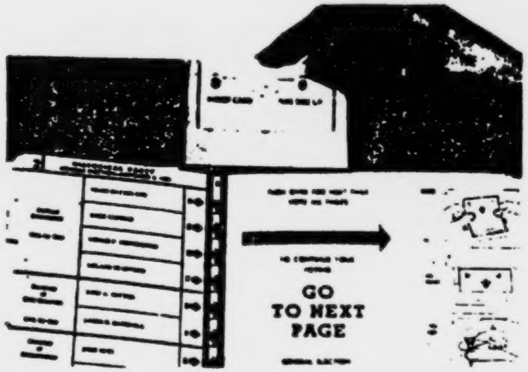
A PUNCH CARD VOTE RECORDER

A new method of
casting your ballot



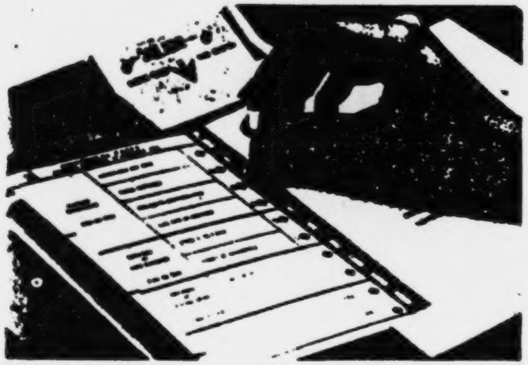
STEP 1

Using both hands, slide the ballot card all the way into the Vote Recorder.



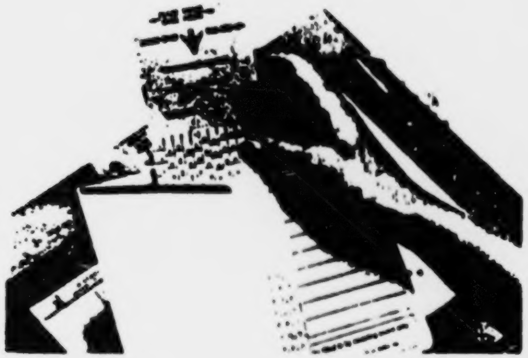
STEP 2

Be sure the two holes at the top of the card fit over the **two red pins** on the Vote Recorder.



STEP 3

To vote, hold the Punch straight up and push down through the card for each of your choices. Vote all pages. **Use the punch provided. Do not use pen or pencil.**



STEP 4

After voting, slide the card out of the Vote Recorder and place it under the flap in the envelope.
If you make a mistake, ask for another ballot.

To vote by machine in the General Election the following instructions should be followed:

1. State your name and address to the poll book holders and challengers outside the Election Room.

2. Enter the Room. State your name and address to the Election Clerks and sign the Voter's Poll List.

3. Enter the Voting Machine. Pull the Red Handle to the extreme right. This closes the curtain.

On the left side of the face of the machine are levers beside Party labels. Over the names of the Candidates are the Offices for which they are running.

To vote a Split Ticket (voting for some candidates in each party for any office), pull the lever of your party to the right. Turn up the small pointer over the name of the candidate for whom you do not wish to vote and turn down the small pointer over the name of the candidate for the same office in the other party row. Remember, turn the small pointer down to vote FOR--turn the small pointer up to vote AGAINST.

You may vote for as many, or as few candidates as you wish. The pointers will lock themselves if you mistakenly try to vote for two men for the same office.

To vote a straight ticket pull the lever of your party to the right. This turns all the pointers down over the names of your Party Candidates. When you are satisfied your vote is correct, pull the Red Handle to the extreme left. This registers your vote, clears the machine for the next voter, and opens the curtain.

Absentee Ballot

A 1969 amendment provides that any qualified elector of the State of Indiana, having duly registered, when such registration is required and expecting to be absent from the county or expecting to be confined to his home, nursing home, or hospital because of illness or injury, on the day of the election may, not more than 60 days prior to the general, special, or city election or not more than 30 days prior to a primary election, nor later than Saturday prior to the day of the election, make application to the county election board for an official absent voter ballot. Such application must be postmarked not later than midnight of the Saturday preceding the date of the election.

Application for absent voter's ballot shall be made in person or by mail on a blank furnished by the clerk of the Circuit Court of the County in which the applicant is a qualified voter.

The overseas vote--more than 700,000 Americans living abroad will be able to vote in federal elections this year under a new absentee-ballot law passed by Congress in December.

The new -- and long overdue -- law requires all 50 states to provide registration forms and ballots to businessmen, students, and other citizens living outside the United States.

It isn't necessary to have a formal address back in the home state -- only to have lived there long enough to vote before leaving the country.

The new system requires some extra paperwork on the part of local registrars, but the aggravation will be worth it if it gives Americans overseas a better chance to vote.

The county election board of the county in which said applicant is a qualified voter, shall as soon as available prior to the election at which such absent voter's ballot is to be used, cause to be mailed to all applicants who have executed and filed their application, postage fully prepaid, at the address named in the application, an official ballot or ballots, if more than one are to be in the application, and if more than one are to be voted at such election; or the applicant may obtain such ballot or ballots by applying personally at the office of such clerk of the Circuit Court not more than ten days nor later than Saturday next before such election, and vote such ballot or ballots at the office of such clerk.

Before an officer, authorized by law to administer oaths and having an official seal, the absent voter is to mark his ballot and in such a manner that the officer cannot see the vote. Also, before the same officer, he is to make and subscribe to the affidavit which accompanies the ballot.

The county election board shall appoint absent voters' boards consisting of two qualified voters of the county, one each from the two political parties which have the appointive members of the county election board. The county election board shall notify the county chairmen of the two political parties of the number of boards to be appointed as recommended.

If the county chairman of either party fails to make any such recommendations, the county election board may make such appointments from any qualified voters of the county. The absent voters' boards, which are sent to confined electors on the Saturday and Monday before election, shall be paid a per diem of not to exceed twelve dollars and ten cents a mile for car expenses.

The absent voters' boards that are assigned to deliver the absent voters' ballots to the precincts on election day shall be paid a per diem of not to exceed twenty dollars.

Registration

WHO? You may register to vote in both the primary and the general election if you are a citizen of the United States, if you are 18 years old by the time of the general election, and if you will have been a resident of your precinct for 30 days prior to the general election.

In presidential election years special rules apply. Registered voters who move from their precinct less than 30 days prior to the presidential election may still vote for President and Vice-President. To do so requires a special registration form which is available at the County Clerk's office.

In Indiana it is not necessary to declare a party affiliation when you register. No person may register for someone else.

WHEN? Register from

December 1, 1983 to April 9, 1984
May 15, 1984 to October 8, 1984
December 1, 1984 to April 6, 1986

WHERE? At the County Clerk's Office or the County Board of Voter Registration, up to 29 days before an election. Deputy Registrars are also available to register people in their homes or at shopping malls, supermarkets and other public places.

Registration before a Deputy Registrar can take place up to 45 days before an election. If you register before a Deputy Registrar retain the receipt you are given. If within a reasonable time, you do not receive your Voter Registration Card in the mail, call the county Clerk's office to check that they have received your application.

You Must Change Your Registration

If you change your name
If you move to another precinct or county

You Must Re-Register

If you have not voted in any election during a 24 month period preceding the most recent election.

Voting

YOU MUST REGISTER BEFORE YOU CAN VOTE
Indiana polls are open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.
YOU VOTE AT YOUR PRECINCT POLLING PLACE
Locations are usually announced in the newspapers. If not, call the County Election Board, a local political party headquarters, or the League of Women Voters.

PRIMARY ELECTION May 8, 1984
No primary 1985

GENERAL ELECTION November 6, 1984
No general election 1985

Indiana primaries are closed primaries. When you sign in at your polling place you must declare a party preference. You may vote for only those candidates listed on that ballot.

At times non-partisan elections, such as school board elections, are held the same time as the primary elections. You must be 18 to vote in non-partisan elections. You need not declare a ballot preference to vote in these elections.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS ARE IMPORTANT

In the 1984 primary you may indicate your preference for PRESIDENT among your party's nominees on the ballot.

Nominated in the 1984 primary are candidates for Governor, U.S. Representatives, State Representatives, 25 State Senators, certain Circuit, Superior and County Court Judges, and some County officials.

Elected in the primary are party officials such as precinct committee men/women and delegates to the political party state conventions.

THE 1984 GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT includes government officials nominated by the voters in the primary, candidates for President and Vice-President, and candidates nominated by the political parties at the state conventions. Convention nominees include Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, and Superintendent of Public Instruction.

1985 is a non-election year in Indiana. There are no primary or general elections. This situation occurs once in every four years in this state.

Absentee Registration

If you expect to be absent from your county during registration periods or
If you are confined because of illness, injury or quarantine YOU CAN REGISTER ABSENTEE.

To register absentee you must sign an absentee registration form in the presence of a notary public. A certificate from a physician or a Christian Science practioner is necessary if you are registering absentee because of illness, injury or quarantine. Armed Forces personnel use FPCA Form 76.

Absentee Voting

WHO? Any registered voter who expects to be absent from his/her county on election day

Any registered voter who is unable to get to the polls because of disability or illness

Any registered voter who has election day duties in a precinct other than his/her own precinct.

HOW? IN PERSON at your County Clerk's office beginning 30 days before the scheduled election until noon on the Monday before the election.

BY MAIL you can request an application 90 days before an election. When you have completed and returned the application a ballot will be mailed to you. The deadline for request of an absentee ballot is midnight the Thursday before the election. Mail ballots must be received at the County Clerk's office by noon on election day in order to be counted. Armed Forces personnel use FPCA Form 76.

COLLEGE STUDENTS HAVE A CHOICE
They may register and vote in the county in which their university is located or
They may register and vote by absentee ballot in their home county.

General Information

Voting methods may vary in different counties. If you are unfamiliar with the voting procedure in your precinct ask for the necessary information.

Any voter is entitled to voting instructions.
Both election judges must be present for the instructions, and a voting machine, electronic voting device, and paper ballots will be available for this purpose.

BE CAREFUL

If you make a mistake when voting and you are using
A VOTING MACHINE
After you have closed the curtain in the voting machine, instructions must be called in through the curtain opening. Opening the curtain with the lever registers your vote.

AN ELECTRONIC DEVICE
Raise your hand or call to someone. You will be given assistance. You may request a new ballot.

PAPER BALLOTS
You are entitled to a new ballot.

Anyone who challenges your right to vote must declare the reason for doing so in a written affidavit. You may still vote if you and other one person sign an affidavit stating that the reason given is incorrect.

Additional information regarding voting is available at your County Election Board.

VOTER INFORMATION PHONE NUMBERS

COUNTY CLERK ______________________

COUNTY ELECTION BOARD ____________

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS ___________

Excerpt from Voting in Indiana, 1984 printed by the Indiana League of Women Voters

DEMOCRAT PARTY

Primary Election, Vanderburgh County, Indiana, May 6, 1986

THIS IS YOUR INSTRUCTION BALLOT AND ABSENTEE VOTING INSTRUCTIONS

READ INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY BEFORE VOTING

The official ballot which you have received is actually a data processing card especially prepared for recording your vote. Do not mark, fold or punch the ballot except as outlined in these instructions:

Your ballot packet consists of:

Official Ballot card. (This is mounted on a styrofoam backing; do not detach).

Punching tool.

Grey secrecy envelope.

Pre-addressed return envelope for return of official ballot card.

HOW TO VOTE

1. Sign your name on pre-addressed return envelope then place ballot in the envelope.

   THIS SIGNING MUST BE DONE BEFORE PLACING YOUR BALLOT INSIDE TO AVOID DAMAGE TO THE OFFICIAL BALLOT CARD.

2. Read Instruction Ballot noting the offices and names of candidates.
3. On this instruction ballot is a number to the right of each candidate's name which is assigned to the position on the Ballot Card. Select the candidate of your choice and locate the assigned number on the official ballot card.
4. Use the punch tool furnished (nothing else) and firmly punch out the **BLACK DOT** located above the number(s) selected. Continue this procedure to vote for candidate(s) of your choice.
5. Ballot return. DO NOT DETACH STYROFOAM BACKING. Slip the grey envelope over your Official Ballot Card. (To maintain secrecy of your ballot.) Place in pre-addressed return envelope already signed. Do not return instruction ballot or punching tool.

REPUBLICAN PARTY

Primary Election, Vanderburgh County, Indiana, May 6, 1986

THIS IS YOUR INSTRUCTION BALLOT AND ABSENTEE VOTING INSTRUCTIONS

READ INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY BEFORE VOTING

The official ballot which you have received is actually a data processing card especially prepared for recording your vote. Do not mark, fold or punch the ballot except as outlined in these instructions:

Your ballot packet consists of:

Official Ballot card. (This is mounted on a styrofoam backing; do not detach).

Punching tool.

Grey secrecy envelope.

Pre-addressed return envelope for return of official ballot card.

HOW TO VOTE

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4. Use the punch tool furnished (nothing else) and firmly punch out the **BLACK DOT** located above the number(s) selected. Continue this procedure to vote for candidate(s) of your choice.
5. Ballot return. DO NOT DETACH STYROFOAM BACKING. Slip the grey envelope over your Official Ballot Card. (To maintain secrecy of your ballot.) Place in pre-addressed return envelope already signed. Do not return instruction ballot or punching tool.

THE NOMINATING PROCESS

Selection of Candidates

Our system of government allows the voters to elect those persons who will run the government. It is important for the voters to be aware of how the candidates for public office are chosen. A variety of methods are used to fill the various offices at the local, state, and national levels of government The most common methods of choosing candidates are: caucus, petition, direct primary, and convention.

1. Caucus - At one time in our history, almost all nominations were by a meeting of party leaders called a caucus. The general public and rank-and-file party people had little say in selecting candidates under this system. Reforms of various kinds have occurred in both parties through the years, to the point, where the caucus is used on a much more limited basis today. About the only time an actual nomination is made by caucus is when a vacancy occurs on a party ticket. However, the caucus is still used as a means to choose persons for party backing in primaries and conventions.

2. Self-Announcement - Self-announcement is an old and simple method of nomination, generally used in small communities. The person who wishes to be a candidate for office announces his intention to the public, usually through the newspaper, radio, and television. Often he is required to file a petition to get his name placed on the ballot.

3. Popular Petition - In some areas the prospective candidate may have to use the popular petition to get his name placed on the ballot. This means he must get a certain number or percentage of voters' names on the petition in order to be considered for election. In Indiana it must be 500 names from each congressional district and a total of 5500 for national office. Sometimes a candidate may fail to receive the nomination from his regular party, so he will get his name on the ballot by using this method and running as an independent.

4. Direct Primary - One of the most common methods of nomination today is the direct primary. The direct primary is a state election process to nominate party candidates for public office and to elect some party officials such as the delegates to the state party convention and regular party officials especially on the precinct level.

About two-thirds of the states have the closed primary as does Indiana. In this primary, the voter must declare his party and is presented with that ballot only. If a voting machine is used, the inspector sets the machine for the voter's party choice before it is unlocked for him to vote. The party affiliation is recorded in the record book. You may change parties from election to election. You may be challenged by party workers for changing, but in Indiana they cannot legally prevent the change. You may not vote for candidates of both parties in the same primary.

In the open primary, which is used in a few states, the voter does not declare his party affiliation. Many different methods are used to prevent the party workers from knowing which party you have chosen to vote. One method is to give the voter separate ballots for each party. The voter then chooses the party of his choice and votes that ballot only. The marked ballot is then placed in the ballot box and the unmarked ones are discarded in another box.

In other states the voter is given one ballot containing all parties. He chooses his party and votes for its selection only. He may not cross party lines.

5. Convention - In Indiana, all elected public officials who run state-wide are nominated by the convention method with the exception of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. In addition, candidates for President and Vice-President are nominated this way. Sometimes a vacancy occurs on a local ticket because of death or resignation, and these vacancies are filled by county convention.

The voters select delegates to each party's state convention at Primary time. These delegates then attend the convention to nominate the state-wide candidates and the delegates to the national convention. On occasion, the County Central Committee in a county will nominate candidates for local public offices.

Both parties use an assessment filing fee for a person for the privilege or right to have his name placed before a convention for the purpose of nomination. Usually the filing fee is equal to five or ten percent of the first year's salary of the office for which the person is seeking.

Presidential Preference Primary

In this primary the voter indicates his preference for party nomination for President before the national convention. In 1964, sixteen states held preference primaries. Of these sixteen the delegates of six states were bound to the states' party choice on the first ballot at the convention. Indiana delegates are required to cast their first ballot only for the slated Presidential preference winner.

Indiana holds its preference primary in May before the convention in the summer. The delegates who are chosen at the state conventions are bound on the first ballot to vote for the candidate receiving the most votes in the primary if that candidate is a nominee at the convention.

More and more states are turning to the Presidential primary. These primaries have played an important role in recent years in the nomination of the candidates. Many times the primaries do not select the candidate, but help to eliminate many of those who are not to become serious contenders for the nomination at the convention. The biggest criticism is that all possible candidates do not run in the primaries in all states. Thus the voter does not always have a chance to select his first choice unless he writes the name of the candidate on the ballot.

Selection in Indiana

Indiana selects most of its candidates by either the party convention or by the direct primaries. The primaries are held on the first Tuesday following the first Monday in May of each year preceding an election. Since elections are held three out of every four years in Indiana, primaries are also held three out of every four years. For a party to get its slate of candidates on the primary ballot in Indiana the party must have received at least two percent of the total vote for secretary of state in the last general election. This means usually only the Democrats and Republicans make the ballot. The other parties must nominate by some other method, which usually turns out to be by convention or party caucus.

VOTER
DIRECT PRIMARY

Public Offices

a. U. S. Senator to Congress
b. U. S. Representative to Congress
c. Governor and Lt. Governor of Indiana
d. All county elected officials
e. All township elected officials
f. All city elected officials

Party Offices

a. Precinct Committeemen
b. Delegates to state convention
c. Presidential preference

DELEGATES
STATE CONVENTION

a. U. S. Senator
b. State administrative officials
c. Delegates to National Convention
d. Presidential electors and alternates

Note: It may be by 1988 the Lt. Governor will be nominated by convention.

State Political Conventions

Each of the two political parties coming under the primary law shall be entitled to delegates to the state convention upon the basis of one delegate and alternate for each four hundred votes and one delegate for each fraction of two hundred votes or more in each county based on the number of votes cast for the secretary of state in the previous election. It is the duty of the county election board of each county to apportion the delegates in its particular county among the precincts, wards and townships of the county as equally as possible so as to give the voters of each precinct of each county representation. This apportionment should be made prior to seventy days before the primary--the first day on which declarations are to be filed with the clerk of the circuit court. If the county election board should fail to make the apportionment, then candidates for delegates should be filed from the county at large.

State conventions in Indiana are set within sixty days after the primary and by custom or tradition held in Indianapolis. Delegates elected to participate are certified by the county clerk.

The convention of each political party shall formulate and adopt its own party platform. One plank must affirm the party does not plan to overthrow by force or violence the local, state or national government; or advocate or carry on a program of sedition or treason; and that it does not affiliate or cooperate with or have any relation with any foreign government or any political party or group of individuals of any foreign government.

The party convention shall nominate candidates of such party for all state offices to be voted on at the next general election. Presidential electors and alternates, also, delegates and alternates to party's national convention shall be elected. Votes are cast on the voting machine. The candidates receiving a majority of the votes cast by those delegates present and voting for such office shall be declared nominated for such office.

National Political Conventions

In 1831 the Anti-Masonic Party held the first national convention to nominate a candidate for President. Since that time, national conventions have grown to their present position. A national convention of either of the two major parties today is one of the most exciting spectacles in the world. A convention combines "the greatest show on earth", a panorama of color, sound, and enthusiasm with the vital workings of democracy, as the representatives of the people of 50 states gather to select their candidates.

In the summer, prior to the general Presidential election, the two major political parties hold conventions for the purpose of nominating their candidates for President and Vice-President. These national conventions are usually held in June, July, or August.

Time and place are selected months in advance of the convention by the national committee of each political party. The committee notifies its corresponding state and territorial committees of the dates and number of delegates to which each is entitled. There are a number of different methods used to select delegates to the convention--a matter decided by the individual states. The most common way is by state convention as in Indiana. In other states, delegates are chosen in the Presidential primary or by the state central committees of the party.

Purpose of a National Convention

The basic purposes for the Republican and Democratic national conventions are to:

1. Nominate the party's candidate for President and Vice-President.
2. Adopt the party's platform for the coming election.
3. Reorganize and select the members of the national committee.
4. Adopt the rules for governing the national committee during the next four years.
5. Unite the party and create party enthusiasm for the coming election.

Convention Procedure

The keynote address usually is the rallying cry of the party and is usually first on the agenda. Following this and other opening addresses, the first business conducted by the convention is the selecting of a permanent chairman. He, as well as other permanent convention officers, is nominated by the Permanent Organization Committee. These recommendations are usually accepted by the delegates.

The next order of business is to seat the delegates. The committee on Credentials makes the investigation of contested seats and then makes its recommendations to the convention. After the seating of the delegates, the Committee on Rules recommends the voting procedure to be used and proposes any other rule changes. The Committee on Platform and Resolutions then presents the proposed party platform and the convention makes any desired changes and then adopts the said document.

After the platform is accepted, the convention turns its attention to the business of nomination. Nominations are made by an alphabetical roll call of states, and it is common practice for states high on the list to yield to other states for the purpose of nomination. After all nominations are made, the vote is taken in a similar manner--the roll call of the states. The convention continues voting until one candidate receives a simple majority. After the nominee for President is chosen, he asks the convention to accept his recommendation for Vice-President which the convention usually does.

In 1984, the Democratic Presidential convention nominated a woman--Geraldine Ferraro from the state of New York--as its Vice-Presidential candidate. Though not the first woman nominated and to run for the Presidency or Vice-Presidency, she was the first for a major political party.

ELECTING CANDIDATES

General Elections Held in Even Numbered Years

These elections are held every two years on the even numbered years. We hold general elections specifically to elect national officials: President, Vice-President, Senators, and Representatives. In most states some state, county, and city officials are also elected at this time. The date for general elections is set by Congress to be the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The President and Vice-President are elected every four years in the years divisible by four. Senators' terms are staggered so that approximately one-third are up for election every two years. Approximately one-half of the state governors are elected at the same time as the President. In Indiana, state officials and most county officials are also elected at this time.

Off-Year Elections

These elections are held every two years on the odd numbered years. Most city officials and some county and township officials are elected at this time. In Evansville, for example, all the city officials are elected on the add numbered year just before the even numbered years when the President is elected.

Election Day Procedure

The general election procedure for the state is under the direction of the state election board. The governor of the state who shall be ex-officio chairman and two qualified electors appointed by him, one from each of two political parties that cast the largest number of votes for secretary of state at the last preceding general election, shall constitute the state election board. Such board members shall serve for a period of two years or until their successors are appointed and qualified. Such appointments shall be made at least sixty days prior to each general election. The election board is vested with the power and charged with the duty of supervising all elections and administering the election laws of the state in their state-wide application and especially as they relate to federal and state elective officers.

The county election board consists of three members--the clerk of the Circuit Court, who shall be ex-officio member of the board, and two persons by him appointed, upon the recommendation of the county chairman of the two political parties that cast the largest number of votes for secretary of state in said county at the last preceding general election. Such appointment shall be made at least ninety days prior to each primary in any year in which a general election is held. The members of the board shall select one of the appointive members to serve as chairman and clerk of the Circuit Court shall serve as secretary.

The board has the power and is charged with the duty of conducting all elections and administering the election laws within the county. It shall conduct primary, general, city, township, ward, and school city or district elections within the county. It shall be the duty of the county election board to prepare ballots for the election of all officials. They also are charged with the distribution of all state and local ballots to be used in their respective counties. The county election board will also appoint the precinct election board and workers. By state law the precinct officials are appointed as follows:

a. The party casting the highest number of votes in the county for secretary of state at the preceding general election shall name the inspector, one judge, one clerk, one sheriff, and one additional clerk if needed.

b. The party casting the next highest vote in the county for secretary of state names one judge, one clerk, one sheriff, and one additional clerk if needed.

c. Each party may appoint one watcher, one challenger, and one poll book holder for each precinct.

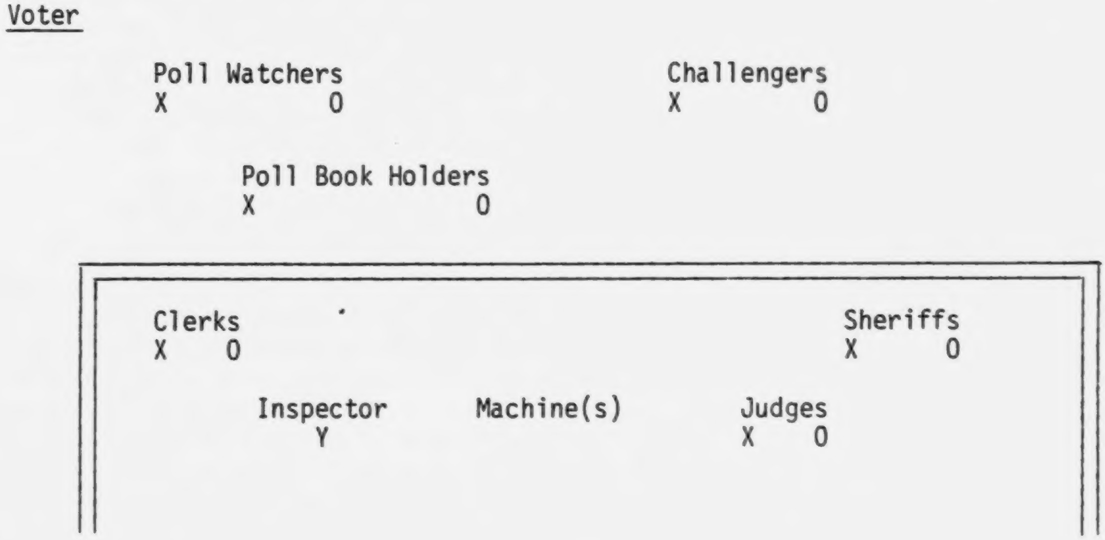
Election Day

One election day the voter and the officials of the election would conduct themselves as follows:

The political party of the workers and officials is shown as follows:

X - a Democratic official or worker
0 - a Republican official or worker
Y - either party, dependent upon which party
received more votes in last election

(The double line indicates the actual polling place. Party workers are outside the polling place, while officials work inside the polling place.)



Each political party will appoint and pay one POLL WATCHER and one CHALLENGER for each precinct. The WATCHER can inspect the machines and ballot boxes and inspect any work being done by the election officials prior to the opening of the polls. The CHALLENGERS may stand at the side of the chute near the entrance to the polls. The may "challenge" any citizen they believe does not have the right to vote or should not be voting in that precinct.

The voter then states his name and address to the POLL BOOK HOLDERS who are appointed and paid by the political parties. They check to see if the voter's name is on the poll book.

If qualified to vote at that precinct, the voter goes into the polling place. He must state his name to the CLERKS and must sign his name and address on the voters's poll list. The CLERKS should compare the signature on the poll list with the signature on the registration card.

If paper ballots or computer cards are being used, the CLERKS will have given them to the voter. Standing beside the voting booth will be the INSPECTOR or JUDGES. The INSPECTOR is the official in charge of the polling place. He sees that all supplies and equipment are available and must see that the voting place is made ready for election day. He unlocks the machine as each voter enters to vote. In a primary the INSPECTOR or JUDGE also sets the party lever on the machine. It is also his duty to deliver the returns of the election to the voting headquarters, the office of county clerk.

There are two JUDGES representing different political parties who help and instruct voters when assistance is requested. For example, the JUDGES may have to instruct someone in the preparation of the voting machine.

There are two SHERIFFS of different political parties who must preserve the peace at the polling place, see that all of the election laws are obeyed, and also instruct confused voters how to use machines or computer cards. No other peace officers of the state, or any division thereof, shall be allowed within fifty feet of the polls, except to serve process of courts or to vote, unless summoned by the election sheriffs.

The election board, consisting of the inspector, clerks, judges, and sheriffs, is responsible for the tallying of the votes after the polls are closed and the inspector is responsible for an accurate report of the final tally to the county clerk.

Election officials in Evansville were paid in the 1986 primary as follows:

Inspector	55.00	70.00*
Clerks	40.00	50.00*
Judge (of opposite part of inspector)	45.00	55.00*
Judge (same party as inspector)	40.00	50.00*
Sheriffs	40.00	50.00*
Rent for Polling Place	30.00	
Meals: Breakfast	3.00	
Lunch	3.50	
Dinner	3.50	

*Higher amount paid if workers attend one of several training sessions. Must have attended one training session in order to be eligible to work at a general election.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Origin

When the founding fathers wrote the U.S. Constitution they scarcely thought in terms of today's brand of democracy. There was limited faith in the ordinary citizen's ability to vote wisely. The members of the Constitutional Convention feared that some popular person might sway the public and set up one-man government. Popular election proposals got nowhere. The convention voted first to give Congress power to choose the President and then changed its mind. But there was insistence on interposing some kind of election mechanism between the masses and the President. The final choice was to let states choose as electors well informed men who in turn would choose a President.

The states could do this as they wished. For example, legislatures could name electors or they could be chosen by districts or on state-wide tickets standing in block for one party or one candidate - the method used today.

Article II of the Constitution provides:

> "Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress." (Members of Congress and U.S. Government employees could not serve.)

Time of choosing the electors and day when they were to give their votes would be decided by Congress. Electors would meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for two persons. Certified lists of those named would be sent to the President of the Senate. He, in the presence of the Senate and the House, would open all the certificates and the votes would be counted.

Originally the person named by a majority of the electors was to be President; the second highest, Vice-President.

The framers of the Constitution intended that the electors use their own judgment in electing the president. At first, electors in most states were chosen by the legislatures; but since 1868, they have been elected by the people in every state.

As soon as political parties arose, the electors became the voice of parties' desires. In the 19th Century, a very few states chose electors by congressional districts. Since 1824, the electors in practice have not exercised their own initiative. Since 1896, however, all states have used the unit rule - that is, all voters to vote for one complete slate of electors. A state's entire electoral vote thus goes to one candidate. Slates of electors are drawn up by state party leaders usually in state conventions. These electors are generally pledged to vote for the candidate nominated by their party. When the people go to the polls in November, they indicate their choice for President and Vice-President. The form of the ballot differs among states. On the ballots of many states now, the names of the electors do not appear. Instead, the voter marks his X or pulls the voting machine's lever for the candidate of his choice. If the Republican candidate for President receives the most votes in a given state, the electors who have been named by the Republican party in that state meet in the state capitol in December. If the Democratic candidate polls the most votes, the Democratic electors meet in the state capitol. There they ceremoniously cast their ballots. Several official copies of the results are signed and certified. These are filed with the Secretary of State in Washington, D.C., the President of the Senate, and certain state office holders and federal judges.

At 1:00 p.m. E.S.T., on January 6, the Senate joins the House in the House chamber. The roll of the states is called and each state's vote is solemnly read. When the vote for one candidate reaches 270 (membership in the Electoral College is 538) he is officially confirmed as the next President - to be sworn in January 20.

Each state has one presidential elector for each member of Congress. For example, Indiana has two Senators and ten Representatives for a total of twelve members of Congress, equaling twelve electoral votes. At present, there are 100 Senators and 435 Representatives. In addition, the Twenty-third Amendment gives three electoral votes to the District of Columbia making a total of 538 electoral votes.

When a party endorses a presidential candidate, the electors - by party rule - should cast their votes for that candidate. Theoretically, however, electors are independent. If a state party organization does not endorse the national party's choice, it elects "unpledged delegates." This happened in Alabama in 1964. The Alabama Democratic party did not wish to endorse Lyndon B. Johnson; so they elected a slate of unpledged electors. The upshot was that Johnson's name did not appear in the Democratic column on ballots. In 1820, one elector refused to cast his vote for James Monroe because he felt that George Washington should have the distinction of being the only president elected unanimously. In 1948 the Dixiecrats bolted the Democratic party in July and nominated J. Strom Thurmond for the Presidency. In Tennessee, Harry Truman received the most votes from the people, but one of the electors cast his vote for Thurmond, splitting the Tennessee vote 11 to 1 reducing Truman's electoral vote from 304 to 303. In 1960, an Oklahoma elector cast his vote for Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia even though Republican Richard M. Nixon had carried the state. Byrd got 14 other votes from unpledged electors in Alabama and Mississippi.

Only two states - California and Oregon - require that electors must vote as the majority of the people in their state have voted. In the rest of the states the electors could conceivably use their own judgment and cast their ballots for any person they believed qualified to be President. In practice they almost never do so, because their votes are pledged to political party candidates.

Importance of the Electoral Vote

Electoral votes are the pivotal element in determining who is to be President. Three presidents were elected who got fewer popular votes than their opponents. In 1824, Andrew Jackson led the popular vote but failed to get the required majority of electoral votes. The House of Representatives chose John Quincy Adams as President. In 1888, Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, led Benjamin Harrison, the Republican candidate, by 96,000 popular votes, but Harrison won the electoral count, 233 to 168, and became President. If the Electoral College does not elect, refer to Twelfth Amendment.

The most turbulent election of all was that of 1876. Samuel Tilden, the Democratic candidate received 259,000 more popular votes than Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate. The electoral vote also was very close. All hinged on 21 electoral votes from three Southern states and they were disputed. Congress set up a special commission - 5 Senators, 5 Representatives, and 5 Supreme Court justices - to settle the dispute. Eight of the members were Republicans, seven Democrats. Two days before Inaugural Day, the commission awarded all 21 votes to Hayes, the Republican candidate. The final electoral vote was 185 for Hayes, 184 for Tilden.

Effect of Electoral College System on Campaigns

Though it may seem an unnecessary appendage, the Electoral College has a great influence on the way a presidential campaign is conducted. Note the following facts: the Electoral College consists of electors chosen in each state, equal in number to the Representatives and Senators from that state. The President is elected by a majority of electors. This means:

1. No President can be elected by a single section of the country - not the South, not the Middle West, nor New England, not the far West - for there is no single section that has majority in the Electoral College.

2. No section can dictate the outcome; a presidential candidate must achieve an intersectional coalition in order to win.

3. The President need not win in every state, but only in enough states to have more than half the electoral votes.

4. To win all the electoral votes from any state, it is necessary only to have the barest plurality in that state. As a result a President may be elected with less than the majority of the total popular votes - or fewer votes than the losing candidate.

All this means that presidential candidates concentrate their effort on developing intersectional majorities sufficient to win. Both parties will focus their campaigning on certain "pivotal" states. A few thousand votes in a state may decide the outcome for that state, and the winner will take all the electoral votes.

Defects in the Electoral College System

The most important of them is the "winner-take-all" feature of the system -- the fact that in each State the winning candidate customarily receives all of that State's electoral vote. The other major party candidate's popular votes count for nothing in terms of the final outcome. In 1976, for example, Jimmy Carter carried the State of Ohio by a wafer-thin margin -- by only 9,333 votes, less than three-tenths of one percent. Despite the fact that more than two million Ohioans voted for Gerald Ford, Carter received all 25 of the State's electoral votes.

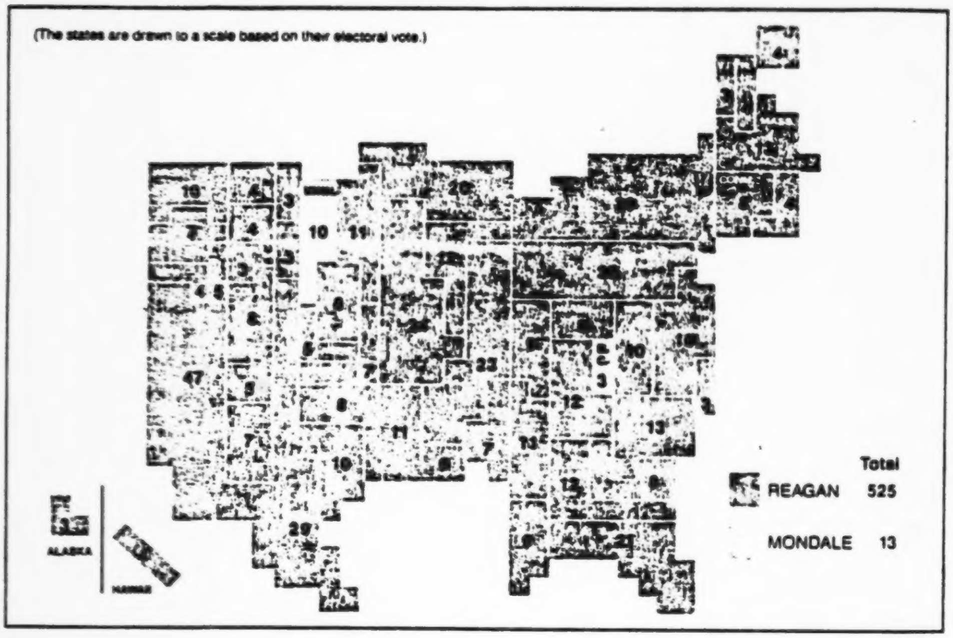
The major culprit here is the way in which the electoral votes are distributed among the States. Recall that each State has two electors because of its Senate seats, regardless of its population. The Senate-based electors seriously distort the picture. Because of them, the distribution of electoral votes cannot possibly match the facts of population (and voter) distribution. Take the extreme case to illustrate this situation: California, the largest State, has 47 electoral votes -- or one for each 503,586 persons, based on its 1980 population of 23,668.562. Alaska has three electoral votes -- or one for each 133,494 based on its 1980 population of 400,481.

The popular vote winner has, in fact, failed to win the Presidency on three occasions -- in 1824, 1876, and 1880. In 1824, Andrew Jackson won the largest share (a plurality, but not a majority) of the popular votes -- 151,174, or 40.3 percent of the total. His nearest rival, John Quincy Adams, received 113,122 votes, or 30.9 percent. Ninety-nine of the 261 electors then voted for Jackson -- again a plurality but far short of the constitutionally required majority. The election thus went to the House of Representatives and, early in 1825, it elected Adams to the Presidency.

In the election of 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, received 4,034,311 popular votes while his Democratic opponent, Samuel J. Tilden garnered 4,288,548. Tilden, with a popular plurality of 254,237, received 184 electoral votes; Hayes won 185 electoral votes and so became President.

In 1888 incumbent President Grover Cleveland won 5,534,488 popular votes, 90,596 more than his Republican opponent, Benjamin Harrison. But Harrison received 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 168 -- and so succeeded Cleveland as the nation's 23rd President.

ELECTORAL VOTE OF EACH STATE — 1984


(The states are drawn to a scale based on their electoral vote.)
ALASKA
HAWAII
Total
REAGAN 525
MONDALE 13

Taken from: Magruder's American Government by Allyn & Bacon, 1985
Revised by William A. McClenaghan

Reform of the Electoral College System

For 150 years some political scientists have believed the United States should find a better way to elect its President, but it takes a constitutional amendment to overhaul the antiquated and outmoded Electoral College.

Small but highly vocal pressure groups have had unreasonable power under the present system. In states which often shift from one major party to another, these blocs have been able to claim the balance of power to force those shifts either way. The result has been that the two parties have played up to them. Under the proportionate plan these groups would have only the strength of their actual numbers; they couldn't claim to be able to swing a whole state as it does under the present winner-take-all system. On the other hand, the proportionate plan might encourage splinter parties. Such groups do not flourish today since it is nearly impossible for them to win any electoral votes. If small minority parties could pick up electoral votes, dissatisfied groups would be tempted to form their own parties instead of trying to exert influence from within Republican or Democratic ranks. Our country might then drift toward a predicament like that in Italy, where the parties are so numerous that the country often has gone for long periods without a stable government.

Others would abolish the Electoral College and substitute direct election of the President. The candidate receiving the most votes would become President. This proposal would be opposed by the small or sparsely populated states, who would lose the advantage they now hold in having as many electors as the total number of senators and representatives. No state under this system has less than 3 electors. The idea also meets opposition from those who say this would make elections interstate and national and might threaten state control over elections. Direct vote would give undue emphasis to the major cities. Now a candidate is forced to court all sections, and almost all factions, of this complex country. If the popular vote were all that counted, a candidate would be foolish not to concentrate almost exclusively on the big population centers. However attractive this proposal may be in theory, in practice it's the least likely to succeed. Small states now have a voice - and in close elections that voice rises into what sounds like a shout. They're not about to give it up.

A third plan proposed would be to select two electors at large from the state, with the others to be chosen by districts. This would preserve the present federal system with its protection for states' rights far better than either of the other two plans. According to Senator Karl Mundt, one of its sponsors, it would lessen the dominating influence that the big city political machines, the tightly organized pressure groups of metropolitan areas, the AFL-CIO, and other groups operating in the big cities, now have in determining presidential elections. This discriminates against the city people. Under this plan, too, there would be tremendous temptation to gerrymander - that is, fix the voting district borders to help the party in power.

No plan is without some objections from the constitutional experts. But there is wide agreement for the need of change to wipe out the inequities and dangers of today's Electoral College System. Because the system is so complex - hard to understand and explain - the popular sentiment necessary to reform has been difficult to generate. In Indiana, the Republicans and Democrats at the State Convention of each party nominate one elector from each of the ten Congressional districts and two at large, giving us a total of 12 electoral votes.

Despite repeated attempts, no important changes regarding the Electoral College have been made in the Constitution since 1804. The case for electoral reform is old. Nearly 200 proposals for change in the electoral system have been made in Congress, but few roads are harder to travel than those leading to constitutional amendment. No matter how loud the critics squawk, they are unable to agree on a better method to supplant it. Each party is afraid to tamper with the system for fear it would work to its detriment.

Proposed Reforms

The defects in the electoral college system have long been recognized, of course. Constitutional amendments to revise the process have been introduced in every term of Congress since 1789. Most of the reforms which have been offered can be grouped under three headings:

1. The District Plan

   Under this arrangement, the electors would be chosen in each State as are members of Congress. That is, two electors would be chosen from the State at-large and the others would be elected from each of the State's congressional districts.

The district plan would eliminate the "winner-take-all" problem in the present system, of course. And its proponents -- including former Presidents Johnson and Nixon -- argue that it would therefore make the electoral vote a more accurate reflection of the popular returns.

The strongest argument against the district plan is that it would not eliminate the possibility that the loser of the popular vote would nonetheless win the electoral vote. In fact, if the plan had been in effect in 1960, Richard Nixon would have received 278 electoral votes and he, not John Kennedy, would have won the presidency.

Further, the results under the district plan would depend very heavily upon the particular way in which the congressional districts were drawn in each State. That is, it would put a premium on gerrymandering.

2. The Proportional Plan

Under this arrangement, each presidential candidate would receive the same share of a State's electoral vote as he or she received of that State's popular vote. If, for example, a candidate won 40 percent of the votes cast in a State with 20 electoral votes, he or she would automatically receive eight electoral votes from that State.

Obviously, this plan would cure the "winner-take-all" problem. And, because it would do away with the electors, it would also eliminate the "faithless elector" possibility. And, as its backers claim, it would most certainly produce an electoral vote result more nearly in line with the popular vote -- at least for each State.

But it would not necessarily produce such a result on a national basis. Because each of the smaller States is overweighted by its two Senate-based electors, the proportional plan still leaves open the possibility that the loser of the popular vote will nonetheless win the Presidency in the electoral vote. In fact, this would have occurred in 1896 if the plan had been in effect for that election. William Jennings Bryan would have defeated William McKinley, even though McKinley had a comfortable popular vote margin of 596,985 (5.1 percent).

Many who oppose the proportional plan worry about its consequences for the two-party system -- and, therefore, for the whole fabric of the American political system. The adoption of the plan would almost certainly signal a substantial increase in both the number and the vigor of minor parties. Various minor party candidates would regularly receive at least some share of the electoral vote. And the chance that one or more of them might be able to force a presidential election into the House would be heightened considerably, too.

67

3. Direct Popular Election

The proposal most often made -- and most widely supported -- is the most obvious one. It is: to abolish the electoral college system altogether and provide for the direct popular election of the President.

The principal arguments for direct election seem overpowering. The strongest of those arguments is that it would implement the democratic ideal: each vote would count, and equally, in the national result. The winner would always be the majority or plurality choice. And the dangers and confusions of the existing system would be ended -- replaced by a simple and easily understood process. Opinion polls have long indicated overwhelming public support for direct election.

4. National Bonus Plan

The national bonus plan would keep much of the present electoral college system and especially its winner-take-all feature. It would weigh that system very heavily in favor of the winner of the popular vote, however.

Under the plan, a national pool of 102 electoral votes would be awarded automatically to the winner of the popular vote contest. That is, that bloc of electoral votes would be added to the electoral votes that the candidate won in the election. If all of those votes added up to a majority of the electoral college (at least 321) than that candidate would be declared the winner of the Presidency. In the highly-unlikely event that they did not, a runoff election between the two front runners in the popular vote race would then be held.

The proponents of this plan see the electors themselves as unnecessary to it, and so would do away with them. They say that their plan meets all of the major objections to the present electoral college system and all of those raised against the other proposals for its reform too. And, they claim their plan would almost certainly guarantee that the winner of the popular vote would also be the winner of the electoral vote.

CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES

The basic goal of any candidate in planning his campaign strategy is to reach as many people as possible in the most effective manner. One of the oldest techniques is still the most effective meeting the people on a one-to-one basis. Therefore, most candidates spend hours knocking on doors, pausing only long enough to state his name and the office he's running for. Near election time any place where there's a gathering of people is a good place to campaign. Some candidates stand at the factory gates to greet the employees as they go to work; others may attend church dinners and meetings of social and civic organizations. Another successful technique is to get others involved in your campaign. This consists of endorsements by various groups such as unions and civic organizations. In recent campaigns candidates have also learned the value of getting young people involved. Not only are they enthusiastic and tireless workers but they are a potential source of votes in future elections.

Definitely with the advent of political parties, and quite possibly before, the use of campaign techniques, gimmicks, and psychology have played a major role in our system of elections. Through every possible media from simple hand bills and newspapers to the most modern means of transportation and communication, all out efforts have been made to project before the voters the most favorable image of candidates and party in a "regardless of cost" manner. While it is never quite possible to ascertain the complete impact any single technique or gimmick might have had upon the outcome of an election, it is nevertheless accepted that a combination of several can and have swayed enough voters to propel a candidate and party into power.

Equally important to accentuating the positive of one's candidate and party there is the task of devaluating, casting doubt, and belittling the opposition. This technique, while always used, can and has been one which on occasion backfired. An early example of this can be seen in the election of 1800.

The Federalists, desperate to stir up opposition to the Republicans, criticized their program and began to call them "Democratic-Republicans" as a term of ridicule, a reminder of the Democratic Clubs which had been condemned earlier by George Washington. After Jefferson's victory in 1800, the name Democratic-Republicans became the official party name of his followers; and as an official party, it dominated the government for almost thirty years.

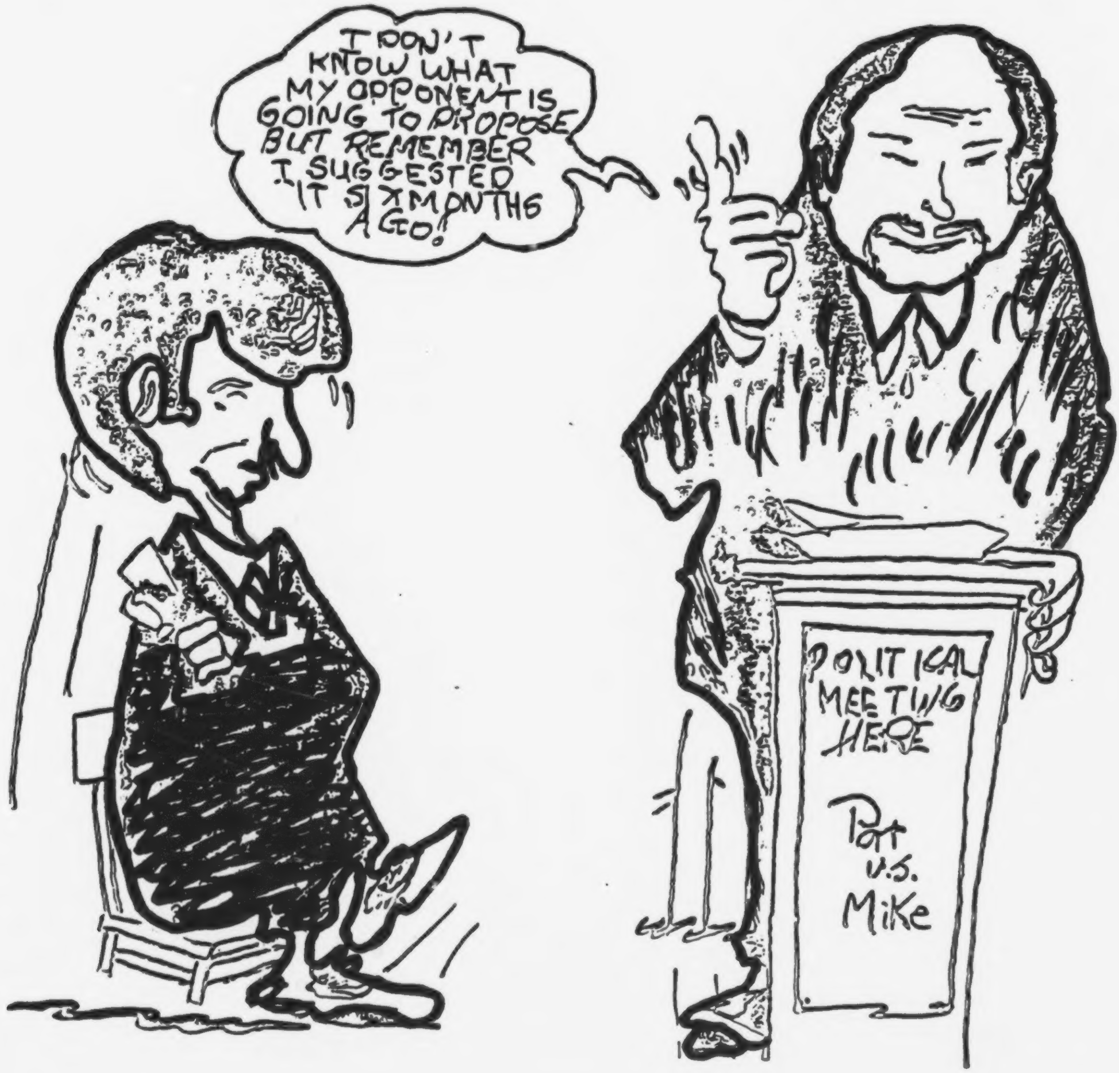
Another piece of political strategy boomeranged in the 1952 election. The Democrats charged Richard Nixon, the G.O.P. Vice-Presidential candidate, with having received special private funds from California businessmen. There was even talk of dropping Nixon from the ticket. Nixon, a shrewd political figure, replied to the charges by going on T.V. with his wife, daughters, and dog, Checkers, to narrate the story of his humble beginnings and to establish his honesty.

Campaign Slogans

The first political campaign peculiar to a certain era would be that of 1840. William Henry Harrison was chosen as the candidate for the Whig Party on the basis of two factors. He was a military hero (which through any period of history has been a valuable qualification for getting votes), and he had never gained recognition for taking any stand on any major issues of the time. The catchy slogan of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" plus the backwoods, log-cabin image of him created by the professional politicians gained him the presidency.

The election of 1844 between Polk, the Democrat, and Clay, the Whig was also one in which a slogan perhaps aided the winner, Polk, in gaining the White House. The chauvinistic utterance of "54° 40' or fight" was on the lips of all those desirous of extending our borders northward. It is of interest to note that following the election, Polk's Presidency neither gained for the country 54° 40' nor did we fight, leastwise not Britain regarding the Oregon Territory.

Space does not permit listing all of the well-known political campaign slogans and explanations of their origin and use, but some of the better known are mentioned below. In the election of 1916 the Democrats won, and their slogan was "He kept us out of war." In 1920 the Republicans won while campaigning with the popular post-war phrase of "Back to Normalcy." The 1924 slogan and again that of the victors was "Keep Cool with Coolidge." F.D.R. and the Democrats in 1944 made use of a popular wartime slogan of Lincoln's day which was "Don't change horses in the middle of the stream." Both Lincoln and Roosevelt had been incumbent candidates during a crucial war, and this slogan was a constant reminder to the voter not to trust in untried leadership. The 1952 Presidential campaign swept the Republicans into office with the slogan, "It's time for a change." The most recent and possible sonorous phrase since "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was that used in the 1964 election of Lyndon Johnson which called for "all the way with L.B.J."


I DON'T KNOW WHAT MY OPPONENT IS GOING TO PROPOSE BUT REMEMBER I SUGGESTED IT SIX MONTHS AGO!
POLITICAL MEETING HERE
Pat v.s. Mike

Debates

Two Presidential elections in our country's history might well have been determined by debates. One was the election of Lincoln in 1860, and the other was the election of John F. Kennedy a hundred years later in 1960. Although the 1860 election was influenced by a series of debates, these debates took place in 1858, two years prior to the Presidential election. The Senatorial incumbent, Stephen Douglas, and his opponent, Abraham Lincoln, engaged in a series of debates which attracted the attention of the entire country. The two men were trying for two prizes, the Senatorship and Presidency. Lincoln knew this when he asked his opponent, "Can the people of a territory, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, lawfully exclude slavery from its limits before the formation of a state constitution. Douglas answered, "Yes." His answer won his re-election to the Senate, but it lost him the support of the Southern Democrats and doubtless the Presidency of the United States. The 1960 campaign was marked by an innovation, the appearance of two Presidential candidates opposing each other on national television in what was billed as a series of four debates. They did not actually debate each other, but answered questions of newsmen, made opening statements, had limited rebuttals, and sometimes, re-rebuttals. In these discussions most politicians had expected Nixon to excel. But Nixon's wan appearance and reluctance to argue with Kennedy's viewpoint marked him the loser of the first of the debates. The other three debates were evaluated as a draw. The first encounter had served to show the youthful Kennedy as his rival's equal, and Nixon's previous advantage of being better known to the people was erased. Asked after the election if he could have won without the television debates, Kennedy replied, "I don't think so."

Torchlight Parades and Political Rallies

Back in the day of Andrew Jackson, the torchlight parade was the biggest thrill of the political season in many a town. The torch-bearing demonstrators might number anywhere from a few hundred to thousands. Sometimes the drama was intensified by the candidate's personal appearance. For over half a century the torchlight parade remained a staple of the presidential contest.

The political rally was another favorite of campaign managers. They arranged for their candidate to address a host of community gatherings. In some villages the rally was the event of the year. Oftentimes, the townspeople and countryfolk joined in preparations to make it a social as well as a political event. These rallies took on the flavor of both fair and carnival. The arrival of the presidential candidate signaled the start of the grand procession to the fairgrounds or ball park.

The high point of the rally was the candidate's speech. Inasmuch as he would probably not return for a second appearance, he had to make an all out effort in the one speech. The candidate could always be counted on for a well-rounded, memorized talk. Since this was before the time of radio and television, he could count on possibly three set speeches to see him through the campaign. These would have slight deviations and modifications depending on the locale.

Whistle Stop Tours

A major change in campaigning came with the greater use of the railroad. The heaviest user of railroads at the turn of the century was William Jennings Bryan. Bryan made an art of the short political talk delivered at obscure villages and unheard of "whistle stops." The term whistle stop applies to a small town, the kind of town where the railroad trains stop only on a signal to which the engineer responds by tooting his whistle. In the presidential election of 1900 against McKinley, Bryan logged six hundred speeches in twenty-four states in three months. In spite of these Herculean efforts, McKinley easily defeated Bryan.

Perhaps, the last great practitioner of the whistle stop tour was Harry Truman in 1948. He covered 30,000 miles and delivered over five-hundred speeches. He relished the audiences cry of "Give them hell, Harry," and this was exactly what he did, heaping brimstone and fire on the Republican Party. Many consider this tremendous effort of covering the country and reaching the people in the less traversed areas the reason for Truman's upset victory. Truman and Thomas Dewey, the Republican candidate, both visited Evansville.

The procedure aboard the whistle stopping train begins with state and local political officials coming aboard the train for a ride across the state or at least the county. They talk with candidate for a few minutes, perhaps have their pictures made with him. Usually the presidential candidate pays some tribute to the landscape and praises some local achievement. An anecdote about the candidate's last visit to the town or mention of an ancestor who resided in or traversed the area always goes over big. Next, a few choice comments criticizing the opposition in its lax concern for the area is a part of the campaign ritual. Usually, after a quick opening of the curtain, and a beckoning glance, the candidate's wife appears. This is followed by someone from the crowd handing her a bouquet of flowers. On a given signal the train pulls slowly away with the presidential hopeful and party remaining on the train's rear platform until the people of the small community have passed from view.

Even in the 1960 campaign, the railroads still played a major role, but the influence of air travel was beginning to have effect. Kennedy traveled more than 650,000 miles and gave more than 350 speeches during his campaign. Since then, candidates have depended on air travel to reach more people. Enroute to major speaking engagements the candidate can stop at numerous small airports much in the same way of the earlier whistle stop campaigns.

Radio and TV

It was in the 1924 election that the voices of the presidential candidates went on the air for the first time. Candidates had to remember that their words were reaching listeners throughout the entire country. This put the unskilled orator at an extreme disadvantage. Franklin D. Roosevelt more than any other candidate of President exploited this means of bringing himself and his party closer to the people. Perhaps, Alfred Landon was hurt more by the radio than any other candidate. He, being a poor orator and lacking a good radio voice, tended to draw attention away from the content of his speeches. It can also be said that the radio was no friend to Al Smith, the Democratic candidate in 1928. His "Lower East Side" accent was anything but appealing to thousands of radio listeners.

What was true of radio three decades ago is even more true of television today. Where a man's voice was bared to public scrutiny on radio, television in addition bares his mannerisms.

As of now, the television audience which has been called upon to view pre-election speeches, debates, poll-taking results, and general election coverage, has had only the elections from 1948 forward to evaluate the impact of this electronic device upon voters reaching a decision prior to casting their votes. The amount of television time and money allotted to the one media has been ever increasing. In the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates more than 120,000,000 viewed the two presidential hopefuls. Since then, television coverage has been an important part of every campaign. Presidential candidates have again confronted each other on TV. 1976 saw debates begin again and in this country that constitutes a "tradition", a sitting president can break only at his peril. In the interest of fair play, the networks must not only provide equal time for opposing candidates but must take the initiative in offering air time to the other political parties in order to present an unbiased view to the listeners.

Public Opinion Polls

The operational procedures followed by reputable polling organizations today (Gallup and Roper among others) are widely accepted by social scientists as being valid. In fact, the average deviation between the Gallup Final Survey and the actual election result has been reduced each decade from 6.8% in 1936, to 5.4% in 1948, dwindling to 2.7% in 1964 and 1.1% in 1976. There was a lapse of accuracy in 1948 due to the fact that pollsters thought that Dewey was so far out in front that they cancelled any other polls three weeks before the election! Meanwhile Truman was gaining with his slow starting plainspoken campaign over the elitist Dewey.

According to a prominent pollster the real concern about polls should not be over methodology which is really very accurate, but over the questions asked and the interpretations of the answers. For example, during the latter part of the Viet Nam War suppose that this question was asked:

> "Was the President right to defend democracy and the Western way of life by bombing Haiphong?"

That's a pretty loaded question involving as it does the defense of democracy and the authority of the President. Now suppose the question was re-phrased:

> "Was the bombing by the U.S. military of innocent civilians in Haiphong in an effort to cripple their economy justified?"

This question puts the matter in different light as bombing was inflicted on innocent civilians.

Another great concern about polling is that one expects a person who seeks high office to speak out with courage and conviction. Instead candidates seek increasingly to make their opinions fit what pollsters claim millions of Americans think.

Some people wonder how polls can be accurate because they or their friends have never been polled. The answer lies in numbers because in a national survey your chance of being polled is about one in 90,000. Gallup and Roper contact roughly 1500 persons to get a national sample. Some people wonder how 1500 persons contacted could yield an accurate national sample. Using the Gallup Poll as a case study, the national population is divided into seven groups, based on community size, ranging from major cities with millions of inhabitants down to rural areas. Each of these groups is then re-divided into seven geographic regions, creating a 49 cell matrix. The population of each cell is then ordered geographically and cut into equal-size groups of sampling units. A pair of localities is next drawn at random from each zone. A pair is used, rather than one, so that there is a control group for each unit and sampling error can be estimated. These localities are then divided into sub-divisions.

That entire process provides Gallup with a list of 300 small geographic areas. Local interviewers take five interviews from each area to provide a national sample of 1500. Local interviewers go to each of these locations working from a given starting point, head in any given direction, skip the corner houses (because the more affluent people live there), and ask to speak to the youngest adult female. If there is no young adult female, they ask to speak to the youngest adult male. The interviews have a quota for male and female interviews. So once you get the quota for one sex you keep knocking on doors until you get the quota of the other. Interviews are conducted during weekdays only from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m., and all day on weekends. This is because most working people will be at home during those times. Ninety-five times out of one hundred the poll will be correct to allow for no more than a 3% error.

For those who are skeptical of the accuracy of predicting election results due to the 1948 error, the professional poll taker has a logical explanation. Pollsters stopped taking samplings in the middle of October in 1948 under the delusion that opinions don't change much; today they know they can. To offset this fact, polling nowadays continues through the Saturday before Tuesday's election.

"Poll maintains tradition of accuracy", Evansville Press, November 10, 1984.

> Princeton, N.J. - "The Gallup Poll's pre-election estimate of the national popular vote in the 1984 presidential election continues the high level of accuracy maintained by the Gallup Poll throughout its nearly 50 years of existence.
>
> With about 98 percent of the vote counted, the popular vote in Tuesday's election divided 59 percent for Reagan-Bush and 41 percent for Mondale-Ferraro. The Gallup Poll's final pre-election survey, reported Monday, showed the same division of the vote - 59 percent for Reagan-Bush and 41 percent for Mondale-Ferraro.
>
> The average deviation of Gallup Poll results from the actual election results for the 25 presidential and congressional contests between 1936 and 1984 has been 2.1 percentage points."

Campaign Music

More and more political parties are constantly keeping their candidates before the public with catchy tunes to which they have had special lyrics prepared for the election. The use of this device has been most notable since radio and television began to play such a role in campaigns. There was one song written by Irving Berlin just for Dwight Eisenhower when he ran for the presidency. It was entitled, "I Like Ike." However, most candidates are not so fortunate and have to make use of an already popular piece of music which when altered fits with the candidate's name or the image the party desires to create for the candidate. In 1948, Truman was welcomed wherever the party had him appear by the tune of "I'm Just Wild About Harry." In the 1964 election, "Hello Dolly" was modified to "Hello Lyndon" by the writer of the song who had refused to sell the rights to the Republicans who wanted to make use of it. In the 1962 senate race, Birch Bayh of Indiana campaigned to victory with the Broadway hit, "Hey Look Him Over." His victory was by a close enough margin in this race that some have attributed his victory to this song, which was played on radio and television in barrage-like proportions. Regardless of the effectiveness, in 1970 when he ran for re-election his opponent bought the copyright and retired the song from the campaign.

> "Pollsters turn to rock 'n' roll for youth vote trend," Evansville Press, 1986.
>
> Washington - "In eager pursuit of the youth vote, some political analysts are looking beyond their polling data and demographic statistics and turning to a less orthodox source of guidance.
>
> Culture leads politics, as the saying goes. So these Democratic and Republican professionals have begun watching MTV, the 24-hour all-music cable television station that is so popular with American youths. Their aim: to glean clues about the state of mind of 18 to 25 year-olds and of the younger teen-agers who will be eligible to vote in 1988.
>
> As more groups sing about peace, the Democrats find corresponding information in polls that the nuclear threat is an issue that worries 18 to 22 year-olds and younger teen-agers significantly more than it does the Baby Boom generation. "That issue seems to favor the Democrats," said a Democratic pollster.
>
> While Atwater agrees that the idealism and fear of nuclear war reflected in current music is a good sign for the Democrats, he also sees a strain of "individualism" that he thinks will favor the Republicans".

FINANCING CAMPAIGNS

Financing the Presidential Elections

A presidential aspirant may spend no more than $10 million on his or her campaign efforts in the several State presidential primary contests. The amount that may be spent in any one primary is closely controlled by a complicated formula based on the number of eligible voters in that particular State.

Once nominated, a presidential candidate can spend no more than $20 million on the general election campaign. And neither major party is allowed to spend more than $2 million on its presidential nominating convention.

Public Funding of Presidential Campaigns

Congress first began to provide for the public funding of presidential campaigns in the Revenue Act of 1971. It refined and enlarged upon the pertinent sections of that law in the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 and 1976.

The 1971 law created the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. It also provided that each person who files a federal income tax return may designate ("check off") $1 of his or her tax payment (or $2 on a joint return) as a contribution to the Fund. The monies channelled to the Fund under this arrangement are then to be used to underwrite campaign costs in the succeeding presidential election.

The "check-off system" became effective with the filing of tax returns in 1973. Thus, the monies in the Fund had their first impact on the presidential election of 1976. As the law now stands, it provides for the public funding of presidential primary campaigns, of presidential nominating conventions, and of presidential election campaigns.

Presidential Primaries

The primary campaigns of presidential contenders are now financed with a mixture of private and public funds. That is, they are funded from a combination of private contributions a contender raises and public money he or she receives from the Federal Election Commission.

To be eligible for the public funds, a presidential aspirant must first raise at least $100,000 from private sources -- and must do so in accord with a specific formula. He or she must gather at least $5,000 in individual donations of not more than $250 each, in each of at least 20 States. This rather complicated requirement is meant to demonstrate that the aspirant has at least some base of popular support and is not a hopeless or a frivolous candidate.

For each contender who passes that test, the FEC matches the first $250 of each private contribution he or she can raise -- up to a maximum of $5 million. Recall that the overall ceiling on a candidate's primary spending is set at $10 million.

NOTE: See related material on p. 18

The new primary subsidies stimulated a larger-than-usual field of presidential hopefuls in 1976, especially in the Democratic primaries. They proved particularly helpful to Jimmy Carter, who began his bid as a little-known former governor with only a very narrow geographical and financial base. They were also an important aspect of the vigorous attempt Ronald Reagan made to win the Republican nomination from the incumbent President, Gerald Ford.

According to the FEC, presidential primary spending in 1984 totalled more than $80 million in the Reagan-Mondale race.

A minor party candidate may also qualify for public funding - but not automatically. To be eligible the minor party must either (1) have won at least five percent of the popular vote in the last presidential election or (2) win at least that much of the vote in the current election. John Anderson (independent candidate) won 6.6% in 1980 - he received 4.2 million in post-election funds from the FEC.

Sonia Johnson, the Citizen's Party presidential candidate in 1984, received nearly $200,000 of FEC money as she met pre-convention requirements.

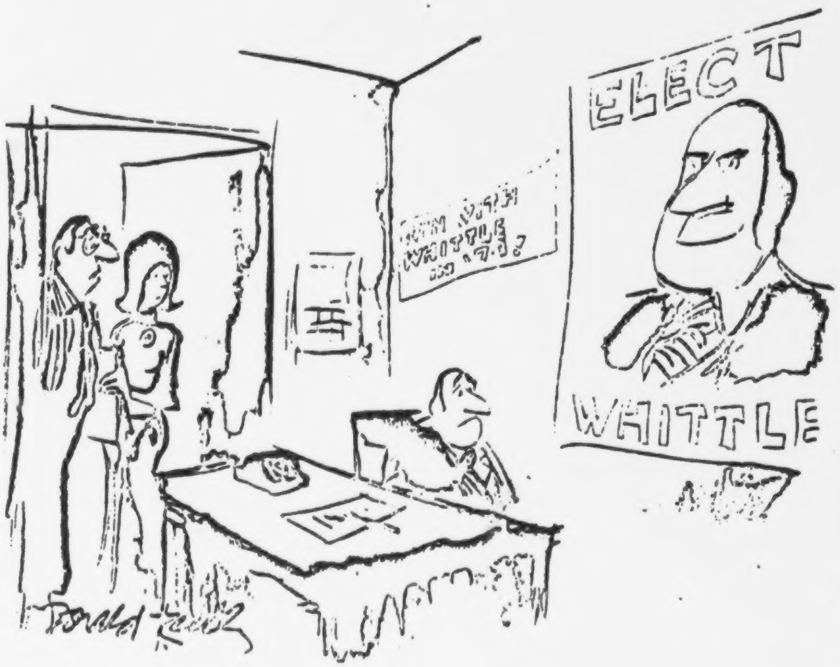
Organizational Funding

Organizations -- such as the American Medical Association or the National Education Association -- cannot give more than $5000 to a candidate in a federal election. The same limit applies to "political action committees," set up by labor unions to represent their members and by companies to represent their officers and stockholders. But neither organizations nor political action committees are subject to any overall ceiling on their political giving.

No contribution may be made by any person or group in the name of another. Cash contributions of more than $100 are absolutely prohibited. So, too, are contributions from any foreign source. No person or business firm holding a contract with any federal agency may make or promise a contribution to any federal candidate, nor may any person knowingly solicit campaign funds from them.

All newspaper, radio, and television ads, billboards, circulars, and all other campaign materials promoting a candidate for a federal office must carry the names of the persons or groups which sponsor them.

"HE'S SWORN TO REFUSE ANY CONTRIBUTION OVER ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, BUT NOBODY'S OFFERED HIM THAT MUCH YET."



Donald Reilly from New Yorker Magazine

Private Financing

Throughout earlier periods of history, the parties depended upon just a few contributors for the bulk of their money. In recent years, the trend has been for more campaign money to come from moderate givers and less from big donors. Both parties conduct energetic drives for contributions from people who give $1, $5, $10, or $100. Party managers feel that a citizen who makes a contribution, however small, becomes a worker.

A favorite device is the money-raising meal. From time to time the party runs a dinner or luncheon, or breakfast that produces a large yield in dollars. The best known of these are the Republican Lincoln Day dinners and the Democrat Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners. Party workers in upper bracket jobs are obliged to pay $25 to $100 or more to attend these. In some of the larger cities the cost may be as much as a $1000 a plate or more. The party in power usually has the advantage in these fund raising dinners since it can present the President himself as the major attraction. More recently, the device known as the closed-circuit television dinner has been used. The party faithful in different parts of the country have been able to view and hear the President, who may be speaking from a dinner in Washington. Other devices are: telethons, direct-mail campaigns, concerts, receptions, cocktail parties and rallies.

REFORMS

Presidential Succession

Quadrennially, each major political party, and several minor parties, meet in their respective national conventions to determine the party platform and their nominees for president and vice-president of the United States. Members of a convention also traditionally entrust to the national committee of their respective parties the responsibility to select a nominee for vice-president or president in the event the party's original nominee should die before the general election. Amendment Twenty of the Constitution of the United States provides for the succession of the vice-president-elect to the presidency in the eventuality of the president having died before inauguration.

"In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office, the same shall revolve on the vice-president." (Article II, Section I, Constitution of the United States) Herein, one discerns that the "powers and duties" of the presidential office shall be transferred to the hands of the vice-president. Precedent established by John Tyler--the vice-president serving April 5, 1841, when the first president to die in office--William Henry Harrison succumbed--decreed that the vice-president would assume the presidency in name as well as fact. Tyler spurned the title of "Acting President," stating, "I, as President, will be responsible for my administration," and in addressing his administration, mainly hold-over Harrison appointees, Tyler asserted, "When you think otherwise, your resignations will be accepted." Since Tyler assumed he was "President" in title, power, and duties, other men who have become president from the office of vice-president have also assumed that position.

In Article II, Section I of the Constitution, one finds that "Congress may by law provide for the removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the president and vice-president declaring what officer shall then act as president." Congress in 1792 provided a system of succession wherein the president pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, in the above order, should succeed to the presidency in case of his death, removal, or inability to serve. In 1886, Congress saw danger in not providing further provision for filling the office of president. The new law, 1886, stated that the holders of Cabinet rank, in order of their creation, shall succeed to the "powers and duties" of the president provided both it and the office of the vice-president are vacant. The Presidential Succession Act of 1947 established a different order of succession. This order of succession finds the Speaker of the House and president pro tempore of the Senate followed by the members of the Cabinet in order in which their positions were established. The following Cabinet positions have been established since passage of this act: Health, Education and Welfare and Human Services; Housing and Urban Affairs; and Department of Transportation.

As can be seen, this is a combination of the prior system of succession. Some say that succession by the chairmen of the two houses of Congress is all that is necessary since each house would fill the vacancy in its chairmanship should their former chairman become president of the United States. Advocates of the 1947 Succession Act advise that in case of a holocaust, in which many government officials might be incapacitated or die, provision is necessary to fill the presidential office immediately and hope the 1947 law will fulfill this need.

A need to extend the powers and duties of the vice-president has been especially noted during the Twentieth Century. Harry Truman, at his accession to the presidency, was unaware of the development of the atom bomb. The vice-president was made, by law in 1947, a member of the National Security Council. In 1958, the person holding the office of vice-president became chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council. Several presidents have allowed the vice-president to attend Cabinet meetings. Presidents, in office since the death of Franklin Roosevelt, have by executive decrees and personal wish extended the usefulness of the vice-president in domestic and foreign affairs; he, thereby, became more aware of the exigencies of executive affairs. As extension of the vice-president's powers and duties occurs, the necessity of filling the office, if vacant, becomes more acute. Method, criteria, and personnel concerning succession in both executive offices is necessary to enable the nation to have an orderly transition in case of death or incapacity of the nation's two major elected executive officials.

On February 10, 1967, the Twenty-fifth Amendment was ratified by the thirty-eighth state and became effective. This amendment on presidential succession was authored by Birch Bayh, Junior Senator from Indiana. It provides:

> That the vice-president becomes president in case of death resignation, or removal from office of the president.
>
> That the vice-president shall become "acting president" whenever the president notifies Congress he is unable to discharge his duties.
>
> That the vice-president becomes "acting president" whenever he and a majority of the Cabinet agree the president can no longer handle his responsibilities.
>
> That the president shall return to his job whenever he notifies Congress his inability no longer exists. If he disagrees with his vice-president and a majority of the Cabinet, the decision goes to Congress. The president stays on the job unless a two-thirds vote of the House and Senate hold that he is still unable to discharge his duties.

Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a vice president who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress. This latter situation developed in 1973. Spiro T. Agnew, the man elected for a second term as vice-president with President Nixon, was accused of income tax evasion on money paid him as kickbacks from contractors when he was an elected official in Maryland. It further was alleged that he had accepted kickbacks up through most of 1972. Vice President Agnew pled nolo contendere (no contest) and resigned his vice presidency. Mr. Nixon nominated Gerald Ford for the position and the House of Representatives and the Senate concurred in this nomination.

Apportionment

In 1787, the Constitution of the United States was written. From this constitution a federal system of government consisting of two distinct, independent administrations was inaugurated in 1789. Each of the governments in its sphere is sovereign: the states in affairs of a provincial nature and the nation in matters of national concern. Compromise was necessary in order to establish a firm union of the jealous states. The "great compromise"--in order to ameliorate different views concerning representation presented by the opposing views represented by the more populated states in contrast to the less populated states--established two legislative houses. The Senate has equal representation from all states: membership in the House of Representatives is proportional to a state's population. Legislation must pass both houses in order to become law, causing interests of both small and large states to be safeguarded since small states normally control the Senate and large states usually have a majority in the House. Since 1911, the number of Representatives in the House has been set at 435 members apportioned among the several states every ten years after the decennial census required by law, the apportioned number of Representatives allocated within the state as the individual state saw fit.

A United States Supreme Court decision of 1963 decreed that insofar as possible the Congressional districts within each state shall be equal as to population. In 1954, and in more recent decisions, the Supreme Court extended this principle of "one man-one vote" to the state legislatures, every district or special district election including school boards.

Each state, the Court said, must make an "honest and good-faith effort to construct districts in both houses of its legislature, as nearly of equal population as practicable." Traditionally all states, with the exception of Nebraska, had bicameral legislatures with the districts of the two houses constitued similar to that used on the national level of government, previously noted. The upper house, usually called the Senate had representation based upon pre-set geographic districts. The lower house, commonly called the House of Representatives had representation apportioned according to population. In many cases, reapportionment had not occurred for many years. Indiana was no exception. The present Indiana Constitution ratified in 1851, states that an enumeration of all male inhabitants over the age of twenty-one be made every six years and apportionment of the Senate and House shall follow at the next session of the General Assembly. (Article 4, Sections 4 and 5) This Constitutional provision was followed only sporadically.

Prior to 1963, the most recent reapportionment occurred in 1921 based upon a special enumeration of 1919. As is true in many states the period from 1919 to the present was mobile era wherein population shifted from rural to urban places of abode. In 1919, Indiana's population was predominately rural whereas in the 1960's its population was over two-thirds urban. Yet, representation in the legislature--or General Assembly as it is called in Indiana--was based upon a census taken when the state was overwhelmingly rural, and this was a census in which the female sex was not considered at all. The 1919 census was taken prior to the ratification of the Twentieth Amendment to the national Constitution which gave the francise to women. Besides this the enumeration in Indiana did not provide for the counting of females for purposes of apportionment which lays before the question of whether the above Indiana Constitutional enumeration policy is in accord with the national Constitution. Debate occurs as to the propriety of apportioning the several state legislatures in a manner contrary to that used in the national government and in a manner contrary to custom reaching into the British colonial period in American History. Some would give examples of the inequity of apportionment as justification of the "one man, one vote" rule.

The rural populace of many states would lose control and in all cases relinquish much influence if an equal representation apportionment occurred in both houses. Rural people are, therefore, generally in favor of the "federal system" as a means of checking legislation favorable to urban areas and unfavorable to the rural population. Some say there would be no need for a two house legislature if equal representation is attained since members of both houses would be apportioned in the same manner. Perhaps, unicameralism as it exists in Nebraska would become widespread.

Indiana's legislature, contrary to strict interpretation of the Indiana Constitution, voted reapportionment of the General Assembly in 1963 based upon the national decennial census of 1960. This law was vetoed by the governor. In his opinion it did not give sufficient representation to urban areas of population. However, in 1964, a decision of the Indiana Supreme Court relative to an appeal from a case contesting the veto by the governor, ruled that the executive veto occurred after the constitutional time limitation on the veto power. Therefore, in 1964, Indiana citizens voted for their first reapportioned legislature since 1922.

A special session of the General Assembly called by Governor Branigan to convene in October, 1965 worked out a new plan of redistricting for the 1966 elections after the Supreme Court decided in 1964 that the "one man, one vote" idea had not been sufficiently implemented by the 1963 reapportionment. The redistricting was based on the number of each county's residents over 21 years of age (both males and females) as shown by the 1960 United States Census.

However, under this plan nine of the largest counties with 49% of the states voting-age population control fifty-two seats in the one hundred member House and the top eight of these counties with 47% of population can control twenty-seven of the fifty member Senate. For this reason, in 1969 the courts ordered another reapportionment and when the governor refused to call a special session of the legislature to accomplish this, the courts set up a special three judge panel to do the job. The State of Indiana appealed this reapportionment to the Supreme Court and the election of 1970 was held under the same conditions as that of 1968.

Political Reforms

Although one may speak of government in the United States as being democratic, it is basically of an indirect nature. Merriam-Webster, in their dictionary, defined democracy as a "government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation." Voting in the United States is mainly for the purpose of securing personnel to represent the citizenry in our several governments, be it national, state, or local. The physical impossibility of convening all the nation's voters in one assembly determines that we have this representative democracy or republican form of government. In the units of government less extensive than the nation, direct action, other than voting for public officials, is feasible. In some states, voters may initiate or directly introduce legislation to be referred back to the people for action in an election. Beginning in 1898 with the amendment to the South Dakota Constitution initiative and referendum have been allowed in several states. (We do not have the initiative in Indiana,)

In the initiative, a specified percentage of voters, usually five to ten percent, propose legislation or a constitutional amendment. If direct referendum is used, the proposal is directly referred to the people for action in a referendum, as specified by law or constitution, for their approval or disapproval. In the indirect method, referral is to the legislative body which must act upon the measure, but if the legislative assembly does not approve the initiated proposal, it must be referred to the people for action. The referendum, exclusive of the initiative, is used in all states except Delaware to act upon constitutional amendments and in many states is used concerning certain bills such as bond measures; the voter's direct approval is mandatory in order to ratify a proposed amendment to the constitution or allow a bond issue in these states. Legislatures in most states may refer to the people questions for expression of opinion. In this type of referendum, the result of the vote by the people is not binding upon the legislative assembly, but is used somewhat like a poll for opinion purposes. Another form of referendum allows the citizenry to call for referral of a law passed by the legislature to the voters for their approval. If the voters do not approve, the law is no longer in effect. In Indiana, if the referendum is concerned with Indiana Constitutional change, the results are binding; in all other questions the referendum is binding if the General Assembly specifies it shall be at the time the provisions for the referendum are set up.

Early proponents of the initiative and referendum in the law making process, were of the opinion that direct legislative action would cause improvement in legislative activity. Actually no decisive change for good or evil followed upon these democratic reforms. Perhaps, the very threat of direct action by the populace has kept evil to a minimum in those states allowing the initiative and referendum and has indirectly influenced activity in other states.

In practice, the people have had a very direct and decisive influence on laws by use of the referendum. For instance, California by referendum invalidated its law banning racial discrimination in housing. Using the same means, Arkansas eliminated the poll tax as a state requirement for voting and Oregon voters put an end to capital punishment. However, care must be taken that the ballot is not cluttered up with too many proposals or the voter may become confused or will ignore the items.

Indiana, by law, has the usual constitutional referendum and on occasion the State Legislature and local bodies have asked for expressions of opinion through referendum. We do not have the form of referendum where the citizens can require referral of a law for their approval. In Indiana a local referendum can be mandated by State Legislature. Indiana does not have initiative or recall procedures.

In many states allowing the above direction action by the voter, recall elections are also allowed. In essence, the procedure is similar to that required for the initiative and referendum. The recall is used to remove an unsatisfactory officeholder from office. No tinge of criminality need be necessary; only the desire to recall the official is needed. Most states having the recall require a petition containing signatures of approximately twenty-five percent of the registered voters of the district involved. Action on the petition is required in a special recall election within a specified period of time, differing from state to state. The state law or constitution also provides the means of filling the office if the recall petition and subsequent election are successful. The recall has been successful in and is not uncommon in certain states for local office; however, only one governor was ever recalled. The very next year he was elected to the United States Senate! Emotion and personality probably play a major role in a recall election possibly obscuring at times real issues or merit. The citizens of Indiana do not have recall elections at their disposal to remove elected officials.

PUBLIC ELECTED OFFICES - NATIONAL, STATE, LOCAL
(Salaries Spring, 1986)

A NATIONAL PRESIDENT

Term

4 years beginning January 20, following election in November.

Annual Salary

$200,000 plus $50,000 expense account. $4.9 million in 1987 for White House maintenance refurbishing, etc. Official entertainment - non-taxable.

It is estimated 50 million a year is needed to keep the imperial presidency. When out-of-office will receive $86,200 pension and executive office expenses.

A widow receives $20,000 per year.

Duties

The administrative head of the Executive Branch of the Government - these include many agencies, temporary and permanent, as well as 12 Executive Departments. He may require the opinion of the principal officer in each of these executive departments upon subjects relating to the duties of their offices. This practice has given rise to a cabinet, which has no provision in law except the power of the President.

The President may make treaties and appointments with the advice and consent of the Senate. When the Senate is in recess, he may make temporary appointments to office. He receives, approves, and signs or vetoes all bills passed by Congress. He may call one or both Houses into Special Session, but cannot adjourn either House or Congress unless they disagree on time of adjournment. He is the titular head of his party and selected by his party in a National Convention.

Qualifications

35 years of age, a native-born citizen, and reside in the United States for 14 years.

He shall be removed from office on impeachment and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. It shall be his duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed. He takes the following oath:

> "I do solemnly swear or affirm that I will faithfully executive the office of the President of the United States and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Members of his Cabinet are: Secretary of State, Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of Defense, Attorney General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Health, Human Services, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Secretary of Transportation, and Secretary of Energy.

VICE-PRESIDENT

Annual Salary

$97,900 plus Vice-Presidential home and maintenance - $223,000 in 1987.

Duties

In the event of the removal of the President from office, death, resignation or disability, the same shall devolve upon the Vice-President. His constitutional duty is to preside over the Senate and vote in case of a tie. In 1947, he was made by law a member of the National Security Council and National Space Council. In recent years the President has often been using the Vice-President as a sounding board in determining public opinion on matters of state and on the President's Council for Urban Affairs. He has recently been appointed to the President's Council.

Qualifications

35 years of age, a native-born citizen, and reside in the United States for 14 years.

SENATOR

Term

6 years.

Annual Salary

$75,100 and many fringe benefits as: travel expenses to home state, office and staff, electric office equipment, franking privilege, phone and wire privileges, and a generous pension plan.

Duties

The chief duty is the consideration and enactment of federal law. The Senate alone has the power to ratify or reject treaties with other countries, and elect a Vice-President if none elected by Electoral College and serves as jury in trial of impeachment. It confirms or rejects presidential appointments to federal administrative, judicial, and military offices. The Congress has power to levy taxes, borrow money, regulate trade between the States and foreign countries, maintain military forces, control industry and labor involved in interstate commerce. The Congress (Senate and House) alone has the power to declare war. They study proposed legislation in Committees and Sub-committees and hold hearings for presentation of citizens' views. Bills are then sent to floor for full action of Senate. Senators may serve on more than one committee.

Qualifications

A Senator must be at least 30 years old, a United States citizen at least nine years, and a resident of the state from which he is chosen. The Senate and House of Representatives must meet annually on January 3 unless they have appointed by law a different day. Two Senators are elected from each state, with a total in the Senate of 100. (One-third of the Senate stands for election every two years.)

In Indiana a U.S. Senator will no longer be nominated by convention, but by direct primary - 1976 first time for this.

REPRESENTATIVE

Term

2 years.

Annual Salary

$75,100 and many fringe benefits as travel expenses. Each Representative is allowed district office space, unless it is in a Federal Building, to home state office and staff, franking privileges, office in district plus phone and wire privileges, life insurance, and health and accident insurance.

Duties

Indiana is represented in Congress by 11 members each elected from a Congressional District. Congressmen represent the voters of his district on Congressional committees and subcommittees which study proposed Federal legislation before reporting on the floor of the House for action or vote of the 435 representatives. The United States House of Representatives has the particular duty and prerogative of originating all bills for the raising of federal revenues (taxation measures), and electing the President if none elected by Electoral College. They have the sole power of bringing charges of impeachment.

Qualifications

A Representative must be at least 25 years of age, a United States citizen at least seven years, and a resident of the state from which he is chosen.

(See Map of Indiana 10 Congressional Districts.)

October 1 to September 30 is a fiscal year for United States Government.

It has been stated it costs over $50 million a year to keep a President with Armed Forces picking up majority and $2.6 million for each Senator.

Senators and Representatives may use money left from their campaign funds any way they desire and they do.

Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate and House - $85,000.

$1 million for each Representative - joint activities an additional $158,000.

Speaker of the House - $97,900.

President Pro Tem of Senate - $73,800.

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court - $104,700. (As of July, 1984)
Associate Justice - 100,600.

Federal District Court Judges - $ 76,000.

INDIANA STATE GOVERNMENT
1986 Salaries

In 1970 referendum was passed stating Indiana would have annual sessions of the legislature - short in even years (30 days) long in odd numbered years (60 days).

GOVERNOR

Term: 4 years - may not serve more than eight years in any period of twelve years, thus he is permitted to serve two consecutive terms.

Salary: $66,000 annually as fixed by statute. In addition, $12,000 annually for other expenses of office and discretionary use. The state furnishes a home for the governor. The full maintenance expense for the residence is paid from appropriations made for that purpose. He also [illegible] $100,000 contingency account to be used at his discretion.

Duties: The Governor is the chief executive of the state, and his position is comparable to that of the President in the Federal Government. His powers include those granted directly by the Constitution and by statute, and also feature his right to appoint and remove personnel in administrative departments.

He is commander-in-chief of the state's military and naval forces. He may recommend legislation to the General Assembly, may call special sessions of the Assembly, and may veto any bill passed by the Assembly although such veto may be over-ridden if the bill is repassed by the two houses. He may make appointments to fill vacancies in any state administrative office or the office of the judge of any court. He also may grant reprieves and pardons to persons convicted of crimes.

Qualifications: A candidate for governor is selected by primary election. A governor must be 30 years of age, a citizen and resident of Indiana for five years immediately preceding the election. (The governor and lieutenant-governor run as a team so they will be of the same party).

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

Term: 4 years - no restriction on successive terms.

Salary: $51,000 annually. In addition to this salary he receives $11,600 annually as President of the Senate

Duties: The constitution has conferred on the Lieutenant Governor one specific function and potential function. The first is the duty to preside over the State Senate during its sessions, and the second is to act as Governor in the case of a vacancy in the office of Governor or the Governor's inability to discharge his duties. It is by statutory authority that he holds other responsibilities. These include his position as commissioner of agriculture under which he administers laws relating to agriculture and in particular, the conduct of the Indiana State Fair. As ex-officio director of the Department of Commerce, Industry, Agriculture and Public Relations he guides activities designed to develop new and expanding industry and to increase the tourist trade.

The Lieutenant Governor is chairman of the Legislative Advisory Commission, which acts as the arm of the legislature during the months between sessions. By the virtue of his office he appoints members of the Senate to represent that body on various committees such as Commission on State Tax and Financing Policy, and Interstate Cooperation.

Qualifications: The same as for a candidate for Governor.

SECRETARY OF STATE (Constitutional Office) 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994

Term: 4 years - may not serve more than eight (8) years during any twelve year period. (Term begins December 1 following election in November.)

Salary: $46,000 annually

Duties: The Secretary of State serves ex-officio as the State Securities Commission (the only one-man commission in the state government) and in this capacity is charged with the administration of laws regulating the issuance and sale of corporate securities. The Secretary issues charters of incorporation and receives reports annually from all corporations chartered in the state.

Candidates for state and federal offices must file notices of their candidacy with the secretary of state and complete records of primary and general elections for such offices are maintained by the secretary of state.

ATTORNEY GENERAL (Office created by legislative act) 1980, 1984, 1988, 1992

Term: 4 years - no restriction on successive terms (Coincides with term of governor)

Salary: $51,000 annually

Duties: The Attorney General usually represents the State of Indiana in every lawsuit in which the state has an interest. In criminal cases, this responsibility generally is limited to the handling of appeals. Such representation is not limited to state courts but also includes federal court cases in which the State of Indiana has an interest.

He is the legal adviser for other state officers and departments. He prepares interpretations of official opinions on applications of statutes in response to requests from other state officers. Each year these opinions are bound in a single volume for public distribution. The extent of the work of this office is indicated by the fact that his staff includes 54 lawyers and two law clerks.

The Attorney General is not a law enforcement officer. Except where authorized by statute in specific cases, he does not prosecute offenders, or exercise control over the duties of a Prosecuting Attorney and does not interfere in the enforcement of a law locally.

TREASURER OF STATE (Constitutional Office) 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994

Term: 4 years - not eligible to serve more than 8 in any period of 12 years. Term begins February 10 in the year following election.

Salary: $46,000 annually

Duties: Receives and has custody of all state revenue. Disburses funds upon warrants issued by the auditor. Ex-officio member of commissions and boards.

AUDITOR OF STATE (Constitutional Office) 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994

Term: 4 years - not eligible to serve more than 8 in any period of 12 years. Term begins December 1 in the year following election.

Salary: $46,000 annually

Duties: He is the bookkeeper and auditor of receipts and disbursements of the state. Is a member of the governing Board, the Department of Revenue, and the State Board of Finance, also the official auditor of all county tax settlements.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Term: 4 years, runs concurrently with term of governor. No legal restriction on successive terms.

Salary: $50,000 annually

Duties: The Superintendent and the Board of Education are responsible for administration of the State's part in maintenance and operation of the public school system in the state. They establish standards for training teachers, prescribing courses of study, and distribute state funds for local school support.

COURT OF APPEALS (9) (Statutory)

Term: An amendment fixes the initial term of each newly appointed judge at two years, after which he is subject to a referendum at the next general election. Voters answer this question on the ballot: "Shall Judge X be retained in office? Yes ___ No ___." (For Appeals Court judges, the referendum is by district.) A judge approved by the voters enters upon a 10-year term, after which he is again subject to referendum. He is prohibited from taking part in political campaigns and by statute must retire by age 75.

The Court of Appeals consists of twelve judges, in four districts. Three judges serve on panels for each district. Judges of the Court of Appeals select one of the members as Chief Judge for a period of three years, subject to reappointment. (Each district, other than the one from which the chief judge was chosen, selects one of their number to serve as presiding judge in their district.) The Court of Appeals has no original jurisdiction but hears cases only on appeals.

Salary: $55,000 annually, plus subsistence allowance of $3,000 yearly

Qualifications: To be eligible for nomination as a justice of the Supreme Court or judge of the Court of Appeals, a person must be "domiciled within the geographic district," a citizen of the United States and must have been admitted to the practice of law in the courts of the state for a period of not less than 10 years or must have served as a judge of a circuit, superior, or criminal court of the State of Indiana for a period of not less than five years.

SUPREME COURT JUSTICES (5) (Constitutional)

Salary: $60,000 annually, plus subsistence allowance of $3,000 a year.

Duties: The Supreme Court consists of five justices. The chief justice is selected by the Judicial Nominating Commission from among the members of the Supreme Court and he shall retain that office for a period of five years, subject to reappointment. The Supreme Court has no original jurisdiction and cases coming before the court are heard by the entire court of five members. They are charged with hearing of appeals from lesser courts on questions of constitutionality of laws enacted by the General Assembly, on questions of purpose application of existing statutes to individual cases. It has exclusive jurisdiction to admit sttorneys to practice law under rules and regulations which it may prescribe.

Term: See Court of Appeals

Qualifications: See Court of Appeals

CLERK OF THE STATE HIGH COURTS

(Constitutional) 1982, 1986, 1990, 1994

Term: 4 years - beginning January 1 of odd years - when a governor does not take office

Salary: $38,000 annually

Duties: The Clerk of the State High Courts has duties prescribed by statue. The clerk is elected for a four year term.

The duty of this officer is to receive and keep records of cases in the State High Courts, to issue processes from the courts, and to perform other necessary clerical duties in the two courts.

STATE SENATOR

(50 elected from single member districts)

Term: 4 years (2 sessions) Members of the Indiana Senate are elected for terms of four years, half of the members of the Senate being elected each two years. The senate is therefore a continuous body.

Salary $11,600 annually plus $75.00 expense allowance for the duration of the session and when attending interim study hearings or other official business between sessions. Each legislator receives $15.00 per day excluding Sundays, when the legislature is not in session.

(Legislative leaders are paid additional expense allowances ranging from $5,000 for the president protem of the Senate and the Speaker of the House to $3,500 for certain other officers.)

Duties: To attend regular sessions of Legislature (60 days) in odd numbered years and (30 days) in even numbered years, also special sessions as called by the governor. To propose and enact laws, decree types and rate of taxes to be levied for state purposes, create and abolish agencies of state government and prescribe procedure for nomination and election of state and local governmental officials.

Qualifications: A candidate must be a citizen of the United States, a resident of Indiana for two years, and a resident of his/her county or district for one year. A state senator must be 25 years old.

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

(100 elected) 61 from single member districts and 16 from multimember districts. Total 77 house districts.

Term: 2 years (1 session) Vanderburgh County is represented by four representatives, three of which are shared with other counties.

Salary: Same as senators

Duties: Same as senators with the additional duty to bring charges of impeachment for trial in Senate. Both houses must concur on a bill before it is sent to the Governor for passage or veto.

Qualifications: A representative must be a citizen of the United States, resident of Indiana for two years, a resident of his/her county or district for one year, and must be 21 years old.

INDIANA TAX COURT

July 1, 1986 the Indiana Tax Court became effective.

The Tax Court consists of one full-time judge for a term of ten years. The initial judge (appointed by the governor from a list of three candidates submitted by the Judicial Nomination Commission) may be approved or rejected for an additional ten years in the same manner as justices of the Supreme Court. The salary is $55,00 annually and an allowance for travel and mileage.

PUBLIC DEFENDER

The office of public defender was established to provide legal representation for any inmate of an Indiana penal institution who claims he is unlawfully imprisoned, but is without sufficient funds to employ counsel. The public defender, who must be an attorney with at least three years of practice in Indiana, is appointed by the Supreme Court.

VANDERBURGH COUNTY GOVERNMENT
(Salaries - 1986)

COUNTY COMMISSIONER

Term: 4 years

Salary: $14,726.00 annually, plus $35.00 per meeting as members of the drainage board

Duties: Vanderburgh County is governed by a Board of three County Commissioners elected from three commissioner districts by the vote of the county as a whole. (They are not all elected in the same year. Two are elected in presidential year and one in mid-term.) Their responsibility is the administration of all county business. They enact ordinances and exercise other authority vested in them by the Legislators. They have control over all county property, and they recommend to the County Council the amount of salaries which the deputies or other assistants appointed by the County officers, shall receive. They may issue bonds or notes to borrow money and audit the books of the County Treasurer and Auditor.

COUNTY COUNCIL (Councilmen)

The body has seven members, with three of them selected "at large," or by county-wide vote. The First District includes Armstrong, German, Perry, and Union townships. The Second has Scott and Center townships. The Third has Pigeon Township and the Fourth District consists of Knight Township. The "at large" members are elected in the presidential year and the district members in mid-term.

Term: 4 years

Salary: $6,786.00 annually

Duties: The County Council holds control over county financial matters. It adopts the county budget, fixes the tax rate, authorizes the incurring of county indebtedness, and appropriate funds.

CLERK OF THE CIRCUIT COURT (County Clerk)

Term: 4 years - prohibited from serving more than 8 years within a period of 12 years.

Salary: $30,434 annually

Duties: Attends all sessions of Circuit Court and other county courts in person or by authorized deputies. He or she is ex-officio election officer of the County and secretary to the Board of Election Commissioners. He/she also appoints other members of the County Elections Board and Board of Canvassers, receives filing of candidacy from persons seeking elective public office, issues certification to winning local candidates except judges, and constitutional officers, who are commissioned by the Governor. He/she is charged with the issuance of marriage licenses and the collection of fees. He/she also collects and pays out support money in dependency cases. He/she administers oaths and is responsible for budget estimates for payment of expenses of cases tried in other county courts and for the operation of his/her own office and the courts.

COUNTY TREASURER

Term: 4 years - he/she may not serve more than 2 terms within a period of 12 years.

Salary: $30,434

Duties: Collects, retains, and disburses county funds. He also has charge of collection of delinquent taxes including the sale of real property for taxes when authorized. His office collects local and state general property tax, poll, inheritance tax on capital stock, and others. He is an ex-officio member of the city council.

COUNTY SURVEYOR

(After election is hired as County Engineer and is paid as Highway Engineer)

Term: 4 years - no restriction on re-election

Salary: $27,682 - Also receives $2 per mile ($4 if a registered engineer) for each mile of active construction of drains or ditches within the limits of the county, as certified to and approved by the county commissioners.

Duties: Surveys and keeps record of section corners; supervises all civil engineering work, including construction and maintenance of drains and ditches, etc.

COUNTY AUDITOR

Term: 4 years

Salary: $30,434

Duties: The general bookkeeper of the county is charged with keeping accounts and issuing warrants for payment of claims allowed by County Commissioners. He serves as clerk for the County Commissioners and casts the breaking vote when necessary. He prepares tax duplicates showing value of property and taxes assessed against each taxpayer. He is also an ex-officio member of the city council.

COUNTY RECORDER

Term: 4 years - may serve only two successive terms

Salary: $26,644 annually

Duties: He records and preserves all public records, deeds, mortgages, liens, leases, articles of incorporation, and issues certificates. Also recorded are Army and Navy discharges and bankruptcy notices.

COUNTY CORONER

Term: 4 years (Does not have to be a medical doctor)

Salary: $20,000 plus a car

Duties: The chief responsibility of the coroner is to determine the manner of death in cases involving violence or casualty or when an individual is found dead in unexplained circumstances. Notify the policy agency. If autopsy is necessary, employ qualified physicians for purpose.

The coroner can act as a peace officer and is the only county officer who may arrest the sheriff.

COUNTY ASSESSOR

Term: 4 years

Salary: $30,434 annually

Duties: Exercises general supervision over all property assessments made within the county. He sets all regulations, manner and form of assessment, provides training for all township assessors for setting valuation on individual, real and personal property. The assessor is the county inheritance tax appraiser.

PROSECUTING ATTORNEY

Term: 4 years - full time

Salary: $50,000 annually, all from state

Duties: He represents the State of Indiana and prosecutes violators of state statutes in the various courts in his judicial district having criminal jurisdiction.

JUDGE OF CIRCUIT COURT (Constitutuonal Court)

Term: 6 years

Salary: $57,086 ($40,000 from state funds and $17,086 from Vanderburgh County)

Duties: The Circuit Court is a court of original jurisdiction including cases in equity, criminal cases and divorces, also various writs and court orders are in the jurisdiction of this court.

By 1972 legislation, provision was made to retain the incumbent judge of the Vanderburgh Circuit Court, subject to results of the primary election preceding the expiration of his six-year term. If he is rejected, the vacancy is to be filled on a nonpartisan basis at the next general election. The "two best candidates to fill the vacancy are to be selected by the Judicial Nominating Commission of the Vanderburgh Superior Court according to standards set out in the 1972 law (P.L. 209)" creating the commission. When a vacancy occurs for reason other than rejection by the electorate, provision is made for the governor to fill the vacancy by appointment from a list of three names certified by the Nominating Commission. The person appointed serves until a successor is elected at the next general election by the same process described above. (*Public Law)

SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE (Legislative Court)

Term: 6 years - in a yes and no referendum

Salary: $57,085 - ($40,000 from state funds and $17,085 from Vanderburgh County)

Duties: Authority and duties are the same as in Circuit Court.

In 1970, a constitutional amendment for the selection of the judges of the Superior Court was adopted for Vanderburgh County. Under the new process an incumbent judge is permitted to retain his seat for the remainder of his term. At the following general election, the incumbent is subject to county-wide nonpartisan election on the question of being retained in office. When retained in office by this referendum, the incumbent starts a new, six-year term. When new judgeships are created or vacancies filled by the governor, the appointees must be from among those proposed by a seven-member, nonpartisan Judicial Nominating Commission (one was created in Vanderburgh County). Judges so appointed serve a minimum of two years and then are subject to balloting on retention in office at six-year intervals. After 1981, the nonpartisan judge can have opposition for the office.

SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

Term: 3 or 4 years (Two members elected from each of the three county commissioner districts and one member-at-large.)

Salary: $2,000 annually

Qualifications: Must be at least 21 years of age.
Must have been a resident of Vanderburgh County for at least one year before taking office.
Must not have any interest in any contract or claim against the E-VSC.
Must reside in the district which you represent and have signatures from ten (10) registered voters who reside in your district. (The member-at-large district includes all of Vanderburgh County.)

If elected, you are ineligible to hold any elective or appointive school or governmental office in Vanderburgh County.

All board members are elected by voters of the whole county.

Duties: General duties of the school board include
Authorizing the appointment of teachers and other staff members upon the recommendation of the superintendent.
Deciding the instructional program which guarantees that the state-prescribed requirements are being met, and providing the resources necessary to maintain the program.
Constructing, equipping and maintaining school facilities.
Interpreting the educational program, goals and progress of the schools to the community.
Practicing sound procedures in matters relating to school business management.

A board member should be a skilled decision maker, who can participate in the policy decisions made by the board as a whole at a public meeting.

ELECTION MANUAL

Insert

(Please insert this sheet on page 85 of the 1986 Election Manual)

COUNTY SHERIFF

Term: 4 years - He may not serve more than 8 years out of 12 years.

Salary: $26,331.00 plus fees. (The sheriff can be furnished a car by county or given mileage if personal car is used.)

Duties: He is the county chief law enforcement officer. He also has jurisdiction within the city limits. He is in charge of the city-county jail; acts as officer of the courts and sells mortgaged property under foreclosure.

CITY OF EVANSVILLE GOVERNMENT
(2nd Class City, pop. 35,000 - 250,000)

1986 Salaries

OFFICE OF MAYOR

Term: 4 years

Salary: $42,425 plus an expense account, health insurance, and pension

Duties: The Mayor serves as head of the executive branch of city government. He appoints heads and employees of all departments, boards, and commissions, plus administration of all agencies of city government subject only to policy, legislative and budget matters set by new members of the City Council.

OFFICE OF CITY CLERK

Term: 4 years

Salary: $19,341

Duties: He is responsible for minutes and records of the Common Council.

CITY COMMON COUNCIL:

Term: 4 years

Salary: $7,986

Duties: Councilmen are elected one from within each Councilman's Ward and three at-large comprising the Legislative Branch of city government. They enact ordinances and regulations, appropriate all funds for the city. There are nine Councilmen.

CITY ELECTIONS

1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999

Mayor

City Clerk

Nine Councilmen

PRECINCT COMMITTEEMAN

(Elect one in each Precinct)

Term: 2 years - no compensation as such
elected every two years (even-numbered years)

Vanderburgh County has 157 precincts. The precinct is the unit cell of the political party organization. The Precinct Committeeman is a member of the County Committee and, immediately upon election, he or she must appoint a Vice-Committeewoman or Committeeman. These 314 must attend a County Organization Meeting called by the County Chairman for the Saturday following the election, to set up the "Central Committee," elect a County Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

The Precinct Committeeman or woman is the party's contact man in the precinct. He seeks to make friends and enlist support for his party. He assists the voters who live in his precinct in many ways. Before election and during campaigns, he takes at least one door-to-door canvass of all voters in his precinct to determine their party choice. He is responsible for registration of the voters of his party and, on election day, he is active in encouraging the voters of his party to get to the polls. He acts as advisor to the County Chairman in selecting or recommending persons for appointive political positions who are legally appointed on the County Chairman's recommendation.

In Vanderburgh County Democrat candidates face a popularity poll of 314 county precinct committeemen and vice committeeman in a slating convention.

Republicans generally depend on a screening committee to give the party leadership guidance on whom to endorse as the best candidates for election. Twelve GOP members make up the screening committee. They carry back their recommendation to the Central Committee which discusses the selection with the precinct committeemen.

TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

(Salaries for local township official given on next page)

TRUSTEE (One in each township)

Term: 4 years, and may not serve more than 8 years in any 12-year period

Salary: The salary varies through classification of townships.

Duties: The chief administrative office of the township and functions as overseer of the poor and township school administrator where consolidation has not taken place.

ADVISORY BOARD (Three members)

Term: 4 years

Salary: The salary is fixed as to township classification.

Duties: Adopts annual budget, fixes tax rate on various funds, imposes tax levies subject to review of Tax Adjustment Board and State Board.

ASSESSOR (In townships of 5,000 or more population only)

Term: 4 years

Salary: The salaries are now set by townships. See table.

Duties: Places an assessed value on all real and personal property in his township.

TOWNSHIPS

Vanderburgh County has eight townships, each headed by a trustee. The five most populous ones, Pigeon, Knight, Center, Perry, and German townships, have assessors as well as trustees. In Armstrong, Scott, and Union the trustee also functions as assessor. The duties of trustees aside from those who must assess property, consists mainly of distributing poor relief.

LOCAL TOWNSHIPS

Pigeon
Knight
Perry
Center
German
Scott
Union
Armstrong

TOWNSHIP ELECTIONS

1986, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002

Trustee
Assesor
Member of Advisory Board

LOCAL TOWNSHIP SALARIES 1986

Township	Trustee	Assessor	Clerk	Deputies	Extra	Advisory Board Total 3
Pigeon Plus Supervisor at $18,414.00; Clerk Supervisor, $18,414.00; Eight Investigators, $116,984.00; Seven Clerks, $13,500.00	$22,140.00	$21,626.00	$900.00	Chief: $18,480.00 Real Estate: $18,480.00 1st,2nd,3rd,4th $12,800.00	$5,000.00	$1,701.00
Knight Plus Supervisor at $15,989.00 Investigative Clerk for Poor Relief, $12,960.00 Investigator for Poor Relief, $7,000.00	$13,352.00	$21,621.00	$11,080.00	Chief: $18,480.00 Real Estate: $18,480.00 1st,2nd,3rd,4th $12,800.00	$5,000.00	$2,600.00
Center Plus Supervisor of Investigators at $13,936.00 Investigative Clerk at $12,688.00	$10,392.00	$21,626.00	$1,000.00	Chief: $18,480.00 Real Estate: $18,480.00 1st,2nd,3rd,4th $12,800.00	$5,000.00	1,200.00
German Plus Supervisor at $645.00	$4,747.00	$5,040.00	$2,114.00	Chief $11,740.00 (includes part time help)		
Perry Plus Supervisor at $11,140.00 Investigator of Poor Relief at $14,198.00 Janitor at $1,926.00	$10,400.00	$11,140.00		Chief $15,378.00 Real Estate: $13,900.00 1st Deputy: $12,140.00	$4,500.00	$948.00
Scott	$5,500.00	$1,500.00	$4,400.00		$12,000.00	$1,050.00
Union	$2,700.00	$813.00	$324.00		$1,750.00	$567.00
Armstrong	$2,582.00	$797.00	$700.00	$2,763.00	$2,000.00	$627.00

GENERAL ELECTIONS

NATIONAL, STATE, COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP OFFICES
1988, 1992, 1996, 2000

President and Vice-President of United States
U.S. Senator*
Governor and Lieutenant Governor
Attorney General
Reporter of the State High Courts
Representative to Congress (8th district)
State Senator**
State Representatives
Clerk of the Circuit Court (County Clerk)
County Treasurer
County Recorder
County Coroner
Counter Surveyor
County Commissioners (2)
County Councilmen-at-larte (3)
School Board Members (7)

MID-TERM ELECTIONS

NATIONAL, STATE, COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP OFFICES
1986, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002

U.S. Senator*
U.S. Representative (8th district)
Secretary of State
Treasurer of State
Auditor of State
Clerk of the State High Courts
Prosecuting Attorney
State Senator**
State Representatives
County Auditor
County Sheriff
County Assessor
County Commissioner (1)
County Councilmen (4)
Township Offices

*U.S. Senators serve staggered terms--one-third elected every two years.

**Half of the 50 state Senate seats normally are subject to election each two years.
Twenty-five senators are elected in each general election (even numbered) year.

DARMSTADT TOWN GOVERNMENT

CLERK-TREASURER

Term: 4 years

Salary: $3,000 annually

Duties: Keeps all records for the Board and the Town

TOWN BOARD

Term: 4 years

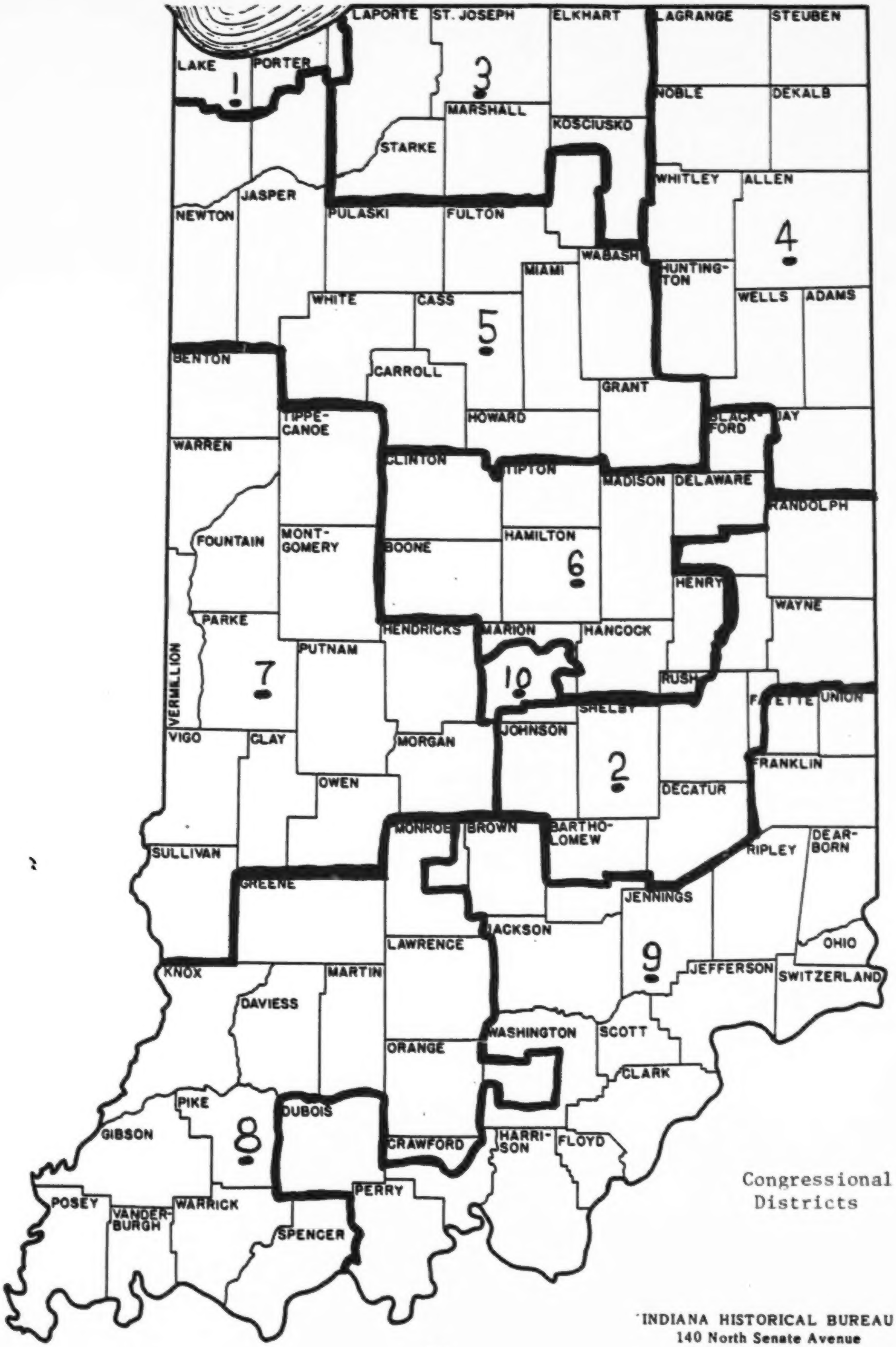
Salary: $1,200 annually

Duties: Board members are elected by an at-large vote but are required to live in one of four districts. The Board is the legislative body and enacts the ordinances and appropriates all funds for the town.

TOWN ELECTIONS
1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003

Clerk-Treasurer
Four Board Members

INDIANA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HARRISON
FLOYD
POSEY
VANDERBURGH
WARRICK
PERRY
SPENCER

Congressional
Districts

INDIANA HISTORICAL BUREAU
140 North Senate Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana
This map is available for instructional purposes at the Historical Bureau in packages of 100 - postpaid, $1.00.

1984 EIGHTH DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL RACE

The contest between Democratic incumbent Francis McCloskey and Repulbican challenger Richard McIntyre in the 1984 Indiana Eighth Congressional Race was not only one of the closest in history but probably one of the longest. The counting of votes and recounting of votes continued for nearly six months and gained national significance before McCloskey was finally seated. Congress itself seemed to be consumed by the race, as the following article from the May 6, 1985, TIME magazine points out.

House Divided

An election splits Congress

Never in this century has a congressional race been so close. And rarely in modern times has a political question divided the House so violently. Some Republicans last week called their Democratic colleagues "thugs" and "slime" and spoke of using "guerrilla warfare" and "massive retaliation." There was even wild talk about Republican legislators staging mass sit-ins, locking the doors of the House chamber or chaining themselves to the rostrum in protest. The source of the bitterness: after months of recounts in the Eighth District of Indiana, a House panel ruled that Democratic Incumbent Francis McCloskey had beaten Republican Challenger Richard McIntyre by four votes out of 234,055 counted.

The trouble began on election night last November, when it appeared that McCloskey had defeated McIntyre by 72 votes. But when a partial recount showed McIntyre with a 34-vote lead, Indiana's Republican secretary of state sent an official certification of his victory to Washington. As Congress convened in January, another recount was under way, and the House leadership refused to swear in McIntyre. Finally, a House task force of two Democrats and one Republican was assigned to oversee another recount. It took more than just an adding machine: at the heart of the dispute was a batch of absentee ballots in invalid form, some of which had been lumped into the total while others had been kept aside. The panel's Republican member, William Thomas of California, assisted in drafting counting procedures, but when the tally showed McIntyre coming up short, he strongly criticized the system as unfair.

McCloskey

Firebrand Republicans, vowing not to permit "business as usual," forced an all-night session, with some 60 Congressmen taking the floor to condemn the "theft" of the seat. The next day, when the House Administration Committee met to vote on the task force's ruling, all seven Republican members walked out; the remaining twelve Democrats decided unanimously to recommend that McCloskey be seated.

However the disputed election turned out, it was clear that angry words from both parties had made it difficult for members to cooperate for the balance of a two-year session of Congress barely begun. ◻

RECOUNT LAW

In September, 1986, Indiana's Recount Legislations will become law.

Any election recount that is multi-county other than School Board or Judges will be conducted by the State Recount Commission. Members of the Commission are:

Secretary of State
A representative of the Republican State Party
A represent of the Democratic State Party

The actual recount will be done by the State Board of Accounts. They will then interpret what is the law concerning elections. This will ensure uniformity of interpretation of the law.

Time limits will be set as to when the recount will start and when it is to be ended.

Any challenge can have its last resort in the courts.

The law does not take away any of the power of Congress of the Legislature.

UNUSUAL PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

It is safe to assume that elections for President of the United States are normally of an interesting nature. Some elections, because of certain peculiar or unusual facets, are more interesting than others. Each of the elections noted in the following instances is considered interesting due to unusual aspects of the election itself, peculiar maneuvering before or during the campaign, or precedent-setting features of the campaign or election.

The "founding fathers" of the United States as a nation and of the governments thereunder expected permanent factions or political parties, as we understand them today, to be non-existent. Use of an Electoral College and the means therein of electing a president were founded upon the above premise. Inclusion of a statement in the Constitution that one of the two persons for which an elector voted could not be a resident of his own state was predicated on the assumption that members of a state delegation would vote for a person from their home state. Provision for the election of the president by the House of Representatives was important because it was expected that most elections for president would not result in a decision by the Electoral College. The same was felt true of the vice-presidential election.

Washington, received one vote from each elector both in the election of 1788 and 1792. However, maneuvering to gain votes for the vice president revealed the existence of factionalism and sectional viewpoints in national affairs.

Election of 1800: As an outgrowth of differing social, economic, political and geographic opinions concerning government, the election of 1800 is often designated as the "revolution of 1800." Due to a tie in the electoral vote for president, The House of Representatives had to decide the issue. Had the Representatives voted as individuals, Aaron Burr, who was tied with Thomas Jefferson, would have won. But, the Constitution decrees that the House shall vote by state units, one vote for each state from among the top three candidates in the Electoral College. Even so, some states did not cast as a unit since two states were evenly divided. In order to keep the Maryland delegation divided Representative Joseph Nicholson, although ill and sustaining a fever, came to Washington in a snowstorm. From a bed placed in a committee room Nicholson cast his ballot to keep Burr from winning the Maryland vote. The deadlock--eight states for Jefferson, six for Burr and two divided--continued through thirty-five ballots. On the thirty-sixth ballot a Vermont supporter of Burr was purposely absent; A Maryland and a South Caroline Representative voted blanks to cause the election of Jefferson by a vote of ten to six. The problem of an absolute tie in the Electoral College was caused by the existence of political parties and their party discipline. Each Jeffersonian Republican elector cast his two ballots for Jefferson and Burr, each of whom received seventy-three votes. Federalist electors cast sixty-five votes for John Adams, the incumbent President, sixty-four for C. C. Pinchney, and one for John Jay.

Prior to the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, electors voted for two candidates, one of whom was not a resident of the state in which the elector resided. No differentiation as of a choice for president as opposed to vice-president was provided for, thus occurred the tie of Jefferson and Burr both of whom were of the same party. Amendment Twelve of the Constitution provides that electors "shall name in their ballots the person voted for president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president;" therefore, possibility of a tie for executive office by members of the same party is no longer possible. The election of Jefferson signals the end of the Federalist era. In the subsequent quadrennial elections until 1820 the Federalists fielded candidates who were defeated. Electors in 1820 were almost unanimous in their choice for President James Monroe who lost only one electoral vote.

Election of 1824: By 1824, the "Era of Good Feelings," as Monroe's second term is called, came to an end. True there was no party opposition to the Republican Party, but personal factionalism within the conglomerated party was rife. Each section of the nation put forth one or more candidates. John C. Calhoun and William C. Crawford were "favorite sons" of the South. DeWitt Clinton was from New York and John Quincy Adams was a New Englander. Henry Clay from Kentucky was a westerner as was Andrew Jackson, "the people's choice." The race for president narrowed to four candidates; Adams, Clay, Crawford, and Jackson. Since there was no national nominating convention of the party, the four candidates vied for election in the popular field and in the Electoral College. Crawford who was leading the field was felled by a paralytic stroke. Adams, because of his aloof, undiplomatic manner could not expect much support from the eighteen states where the citizens voted directly for electors; in most states the state legislature chose electors. Deals to run a ticket wherein one of the leading contenders would accept the role of vice-president fell through. It was almost certain to be an election in which no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes. No majority was gained by any candidate, therefore, as provided in the Constitution, the House of Representatives must choose a president from the three candidates receiving the most electoral votes. These were Jackson with ninely-nine votes, Adams with eighty-four and Crawford with forty-four votes. Before the House voted, the Columbian Observer of Philadelphia printed an anonymous letter, later admitted by a slow witted Pennsylvania Congressman, charging a bargain wherein Clay, for giving support to Adams, would receive the post of Secretary of State. Although this was never proven, it became the basis of the "corrupt bargain" charge by Jacksonians. John Quincy Adams became president as result of the first ballot in the House. Thirteen of the twenty-four states voted for Adams, Jackson received seven votes, and Crawford four. Not since the election of 1824 has it been necessary for the House of Representatives to elect the president. Only once has the Senate had to elect the vice-president; this was in 1836 when no vice-presidential candiate received a majority of electoral votes.

Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828, the first president under the Democratic label. By 1840 the opponents of "Jacksonian Democracy" were able to elect a president. The first Whig elected president was William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, who served in office for one month before dying of respiratory infection. John Tyler, Harrison's vice-president, was the first man to succeed to the office of president because of the death of the President in office. The Democrats in 1832 were the first major political party to use the national nominating convention as the means of selecting candidates for president and vice-president and adopted the two-thirds majority to nominate, retaining this rule until 1936. Some state political parties had been using this means of selecting candidates prior to 1832 and the Anti-Masonic Party first used it on the national scene in 1831.

Election of 1860: The split in the union culminating in the Civil War can be foretold in the maneuvering in the 1860 election. Four candidates were nominally in the field. The Democrats, in convention at Charleston, South Carolina, were unable to resolve a platform favorable to all. Because of the two-thirds rule for nomination, nomination even without the southern delegates, who had walked out of the convention, was impossible. A candidate for Democratic nomination had to gain 202 votes, since the rules stated that a candidate must receive two-thirds of the total convention vote, not merely of those present. With the absence of southern delegates the nominee of necessity needed eighty percent of the remaining 250 delegates. No nomination occurred at Charleston. Afrer fifty-seven ballots the Convention was adjourned to Baltimore, Maryland. Compromise did not occur and the Southern Democrats adjourned in their splinter convention to Richmond, Virginia. At Baltimore, after secession of the previous southern seceders for a second time with other malcontents, the Democrats--from the North and border states with a sprinkling of Southerners--nominated Stephen A. Douglas for president. Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama was named vice-presidential nominee. He later declined and the Democratic National Convention chose Herschel Johnson of Georgia. A rump Southern Democratic Convention at Baltimore nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for president. Thus we have a nominee for president of the Northern Wing of the Democrats, Douglas, and Breckinridge, favorite of the Southern Democrats. Republicans, meeting in Chicago, in a vigorous convention nominated Abraham Lincoln. A new party, the Constitutional Union Party, in an effort to preserve the Union, nominated John Bell, a southerner of moderate views.

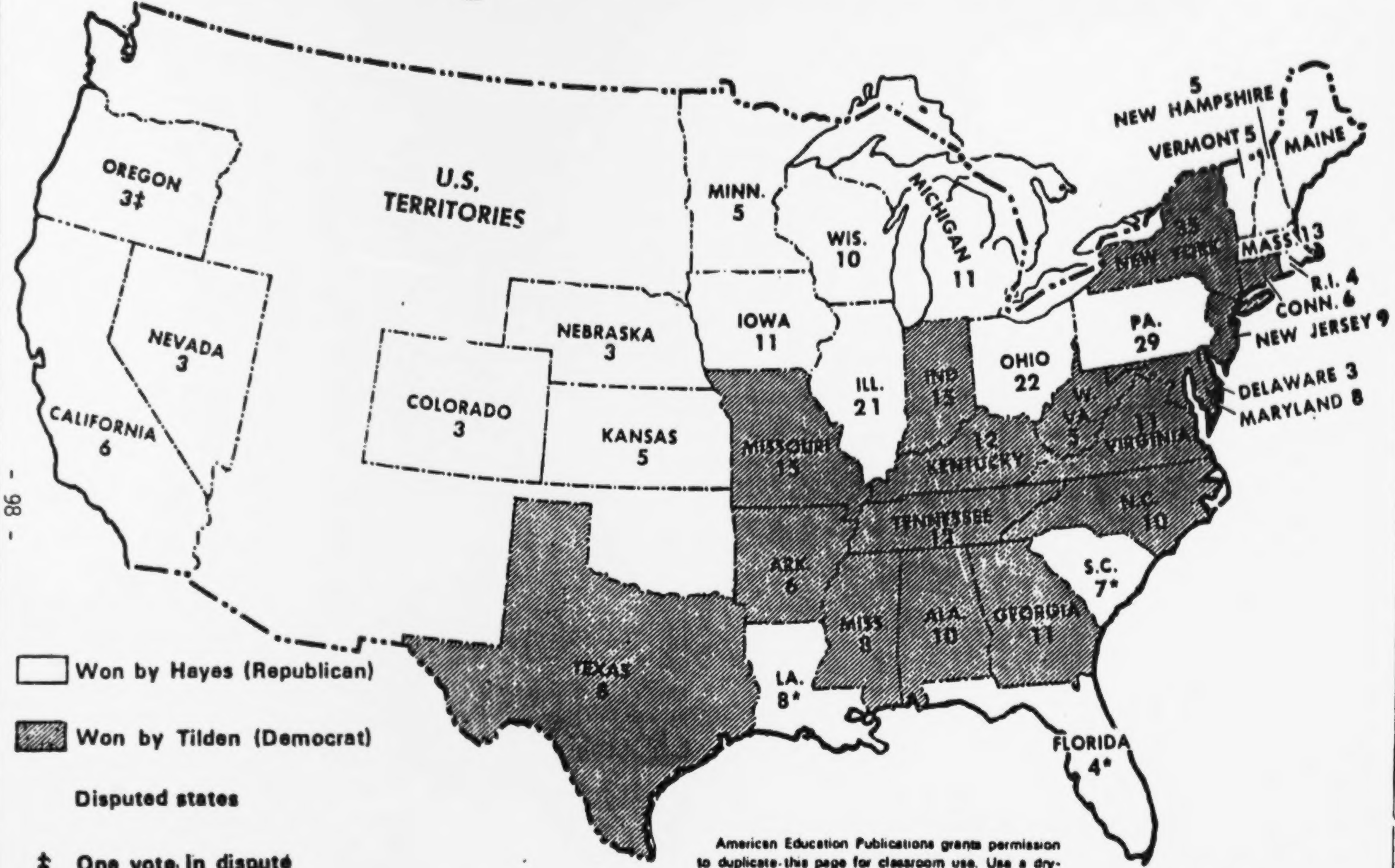
All four candidates pledged defense of the Union or one could say they pledged defense of their respective interpretation of what the Union should include. Lincoln's Union was one with slavery protected, but not extended into new territory. Breckinridge believed in freedom for and protection of slavery. Douglas favored a Union wherein the courts and citizens in the territories would decide the questions concerning slavery. Bell desired Union at any cost and was willing to sacrifice principle in order to have it. Each, in his own way desired Union, but on his own terms.

Lincoln had 1,857,610 popular votes and 180 electoral votes carrying every state in the north except New Jersey. Breckinridge, the southern Democrat received 72 electoral votes on the strength of 850,082 popular votes carrying every state of the Cotton South. The northern Democrats, with Douglas, gained 1,291,574 popular votes and 12 electoral votes, these from the border state, Missouri; Bell with 646,124 popular votes received 39 electoral votes from eight upper south and border states. The sectional aspect of the contest can be readily seen in the above statistics.

Lincoln with less than half the popular vote received nearly two-thirds of the electoral votes cast. Fortunately or unfortunately, only a seer could tell, the electoral vote showed majority for Lincoln and the election was not thrown into the House of Representatives.

Election of 1876: Lincoln was assassinated in 1865. Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's second Vice-President and Ulysses S. Grant, the civil war hero, were presidents during the Reconstruction era. Reaction against corruption in the Grant administrations, economic concern--occasioned by the panic of 1873--and element of carpet bag misrule in the South allowed a two-party contest to emerge in 1876. Shrewd management at the Republican Convention caused a "dark horse." Rutherford B. Hayes to emerge as the presidential candidate on the seventh ballot. An innocuous politician with a spotless reputation, Hayes was nominated because he was able to unite both reactionaries and reformers.

The Disputed Election of 1876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IND. 15
OHIO 22
PA. 29
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W. VA. 5
VIRGINIA 11
TENNESSEE 12
N.C. 10
S.C. 7*
ARK. 6
MISS. 8
ALA. 10
GEORGIA 11
TEXAS 8
LA. 8*
FLORIDA 4*
5 NEW HAMPSHIRE
VERMONT 5
7 MAINE
35 NEW YORK
MASS. 13
R.I. 4
CONN. 6
NEW JERSEY 9
DELAWARE 3
MARYLAND 8

☐ Won by Hayes (Republican)

▨ Won by Tilden (Democrat)

Disputed states

‡ One vote in dispute

Numbers show electoral votes

Final vote: Hayes—185, Tilden—184

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The Democratic nominee, Samuel Tilden, a veteran of New York politics, was a reformer as was Hayes. Hayes and Tilden "if not two peas from the same pod, at least gave indications of coming from the same parent vine."

It was a hard-fought, rough, dirty campaign. Charges of ballot stuffing, vote buying, intimidation, violence, and in parts of the South--especially South Carolina--direct and indirect interference by the military was evident. Disputed vote counting in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana caused the Republicans to awaken themselves from seeming defeat and head South with money and jobs for bribing of electors. Democrats had money and potential patronage with which to counteract, they hoped, Republican money. Confusion caused by new canvasses of the votes overturned what seemed to have been Democratic majorities. An unofficial 203 to 166 Democratic majority in the electoral count became a one-vote majority for Hayes, the Republican. A compromise electoral commission was appointed by Congress to certify the vote. This commission was composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. In the first dispute, concerning Florida, the vote was eight to seven to accept the count favorable to the Republicans. There were two governors, two sets of election statistics and two sets of electors from Louisiana. Again the commission's ruling was eight to seven in the Republicans' favor. Similar decisions were reached in the South Carolina and Oregon cases. Threatened civil disorder was only that, a threat, since furious negotiations for compromise had been going on since Congress first met. Although many of Tilden's followers were willing to cause interference and threatened a filibuster in the House of Representatives which would stall electoral vote counting, they received little support from Tilden. According to Tilden's intimates, while his supporters were working for a favorable return in the electoral count, "bowing their backs and digging in for a fight;" Tilden was of little help and was more interested in self-justification than in a struggle for power. His party later charged him with indecision and even cowardice.

A bargain was reached. Southern Democrates resolved the issue. They would agree to the count of the special election commission if Hayes and the Republicans would promise to remove remaining troops from the South, end carpetbag rule, appoint at least one southern conservative to a cabinet post, and other concessions. In return southerners promised fair treatment to Negroes and no further interference with the electoral commission count. Civil disorder was averted. Hayes won by a one vote margin, 185 to 184. The popular vote was 4,285,992 for Tilden, 4,033,768 for Hayes, with two minor candidates receiving less than 100,000 votes combined. Even if the people's mandate was thwarted, the "Reconstruction Era" was ended and peace reigned with the South returning to antebellum principles of white supremacy.

Elections of 1884 and 1888: Grover Cleveland has the distinction of being the only President of the United States to serve two non-consecutive terms. The election of 1884, in which Cleveland first gained the presidency, is considered by some to be the most scurrilous of American political campaigns. However, alleged public immorality of the Republican nominee, James G. Blaine carried more weight in the minds of the electorate than the private indiscretions of Cleveland. Blaine lost, Cleveland won.

In 1888 the Republicans were leery of renominating Blaine, the perennial seeker of nomination who had failed as candidate in the previous election. Blaine stated he was not a candidate for nomination, but a few diehards still held out for him at the nominating convention. After four ballots the issue was undecided.

The convention adjourned for the weekend during which time Blaine cabled from Paris his unequivocal refusal to run even if nominated. Benjamin Harrison, great-grandson of a signer of the Declaration of Independence and grandson of President William Henry Harrison, became the Republican nominee. With no record to defend and a ready-made tariff issue the man with "a good record and not much of it" campaigned against Cleveland who had been renominated by the Democrats. Cleveland had little support from the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, a high tariff man--Cleveland was an advocate of a low tariff--and the vice-presidential candidate was worse than ineffective as a speaker. Cleveland believed it beneath the dignity of the Presidential office to conduct a personal speaking tour. Cleveland gained the larger number, though not a majority, of the popular vote--5,540, 329 votes to 5,439,853 for Harrison. Minor candidates polled almost half a million votes. In the Electoral College, however, Harrison had 233 votes to 168 for Cleveland. Again, the people's will was upset by Cleveland with a plurality of the popular vote lost the election to Benjamin Harrison. Cleveland took defeat philosophically communicating to a friend that he was glad to have created the tariff issue. The defeat was not discouraging, he would rebound and fight again! Four years later in 1892, Cleveland defeated Harrison and served a second term.

Election of 1896: Cleveland, following tradition, refused to run for a third term and there is doubt that he could gain the nomination of the Democrats had he desired it. William Jennings Bryan, the "silver tongued orator from the Platte," received the Democratic nomination at the age of thirty-six. "Stumping the country" could now mean literally traveling the length and breadth of the nation. Railroads had been transcontinental since 1869, but of an inferior sort. Near the end of the century, with the increased use of the Pullman and standard gauge railroads, ease of travel had become commonplace. Bryan, in the campaign of 1896, "traveled 18,000 miles, made some 600 speeches to some 5,000,000 people." People came in droves to hear Bryan expound upon free silver and easier credit. By contrast the Republican nominee, William McKinley, did not take to the hustings, but conducted a "front-porch campaign." This differed from previous stay-at-home campaigning because in this instance the people were encouraged to come to McKinley's front porch. "The excursions to Canton--McKinley's Ohio home--in 1896, amounted to mass pilgrimages." "People came by the thousands in special trains . . . often with their expenses paid--to see McKinley and listen to a few well chosen remarks, or, in the case of large delegations, a formal address of some length." McKinley won with fifty-one percent of the popular vote to forty-seven percent for Bryant and was winner of the electoral vote 271 to 176 for Bryan.

Election of 1912: Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency at the death of McKinley in 1900 and was elected on his own in 1904. In 1908, Roosevelt because of the third-term sentiment, felt it was best to not only state he did not wish the nomination but to actively campaign for a nominee of his own choosing. Upon the broad shoulders of William Howard Taft, he weighed over 300 pounds, fell the mantle of Roosevelt and the Republican Party. Taft won, but the ministrations of Taft and the Republicans did not meet with the progressive sentiments of Teddy Roosevelt. In 1912, with the approval of Roosevelt's closest advisers, a circular letter was prepared and signed by seven Republican governors asking Roosevelt to make race for the party's nomination. Roosevelt in response to popular acclaim and as a result of desultory asides by President Taft and fellow Repulbicans told a reporter at Cleveland: "My hat is in the ring." In a speech at Columbus, Ohio, Roosevelt expoused the progressive creed including the initiative, referendum, the recall of elective officials and popular curb on judicial decisions. Political boss manipulation was waning because the direct primary in several states was used to indicate preference for national convention delegates. Therefore, party machines in the several states could not operate with their former efficacy. The struggle for delegates was to occur at the primary husting and the state conventions as well as at the national convention. In the few primaries in existence the number of delegates in favor of Roosevelt was 279, Robert Taft had 48, and LaFollette, 36. Taft won the Republican nomination in a close vote. Roosevelt's supporters bolted the convention. Two months later, the renegades formed the Progressive Party and nominated Roosevelt for President of the United States.

The Democrats in convention were gleeful over the split in the Republicans' ranks, but had no front running nominee choice of their own. Convention rules still required a two-thirds majority to nominate. After forty-six ballots were cast, Woodrow Wilson, the progressive former political science professor, college president and present governor of New Jersey won the nomination. The Democrats did not quite poll their normal number votes, but won for the first time since Cleveland in 1892 because of the split in Republican ranks. Wilson held 6,286,314 votes; Roosevelt, 4,216,640; Taft, 3,483,650, and Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist, polled 801,873 votes, the Socialist high point. About a quarter million additional votes went to other minor party candidates. Wilson had 435 electoral votes; Roosevelt, 88; and Taft, 8. The nominee of a major political party had run third in a field of three strong candidates. Progressivism won although the Progressive Party candidate did not. The "Square Deal" of the second Roosevelt administration became the "New Freedom" of the Wilson administrations.

Election of 1948: The Republicans met first and a battle royal was expected, bur failed to materialize. Harold Stassen staged the most spectacular rally easily eclipscing those for Earl Warren, Robert Taft and Thomas Dewey. Dewey won on the third ballot having led Taft by almost two to one all the way in this balloting; Earl Warren was the choice for the vice-presidential candidacy.

Fractionization, the bugaboo of rhe Republicans in 1912, was to haunt the Democrats in 1948. Even without this spectre, 1948 appeared to be a bad year. Truman had his hands full when enough Republicans were returned in 1946 to dominate Congress. The war was over. Boys were replacing khaki, olive drab, navy blue and forest green with civilian apparel. It was time to again "return to normalcy." "Normalcy" meant a strong statement in favor of civil rights or equality for the Negro which thoroughly angered the southern conservative wing of the Democratic Party. When the National Convention met, the Trumanites were firmly entrenched. Contrary to southern wishes a strong civil rights plan--including anti-poll tax sentiments, a national anti-lynch law, and a fair Employment Practices Commission with power to enforce its ruling--was placed in the party platform and approved. Many southerners objected to the several provisions of the civil-rights program and walked out and in Birmingham, Alabama they nominated Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi for president and vice-president respectively. They called themselves Dixicrats and preempted the usual Democratic stronghold of the deep south. Former Vice-President Wallace left the Democratic Party to head a new Progressive Party that criticized the Truman policy toward the Soviet Union.

Harry Truman paid no attention to the dire predictions of pollsters and dutifully and enjoyably campaigned, ripping broadsides into the Repulbicans in general and especially that "worst Eightieth Congress," dominated by Republicans which he threatened to call into session to carry out the Republican campaign pledges. All the leading polls, political analysts and commentators, and newspapers gave the edge to Dewey. The Gallup Poll closed shop the first of October predicting an easy Dewey victory, but "Give 'em hell, Harry" had reached the little people. Hard work and "whistle stop campaigning" paid dividends at the polls. Neither pollsters, newspapers, or political analysts win elections. Overcoming factionalism, apathy, and lethargy in his own party and helped by the fact that Republicans stayed home in droves because they "had it in the bag"; Harry Truman, almost singlehandedly won the election of 1948. "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN", screamed the Chicago Tribune, mistakenly. Truman received 304 (303) electoral votes; Dewey, 189, Thurmond, 38 (39), and Henry Wallace, none. Percentage of the popular vote was 49.6 for Truman, 45.1 for Dewey; the minor parties, 5.4 percent. The people had spoken. In 1952, the Republican Party returned to the White House for the first time since Herbert Hoover vacated the premises in 1933. Dwight David Eisenhower, former commander of NATO forces in western Europe, became president. The Twenty-Second Amendment to the United States Constitution was now part of the "Supreme Law of the Land" and limited the tenure of the President. Therefore in 1960 Eisenhower could not run for the presidency.

Election of 1960: Richard Nixon, Vice-President during Eisenhower's two terms easily secured the Republican nomination. Nixon's activities on behalf of Congressional candidates from 1952 through 1958 kept him in the popular limelight and marked him for support by the Republican political workers. Not since Van Buren, Vice-President under Jackson, had a vice-presidential nominee of one of the two major parties become its subsequent presidential nominee.

John F. Kennedy, Senator from Massachusetts, arrived in Los Angeles the frontrunner of potential nominees for the Democratic nomination for president. Although, Adlai Stevenson, the 1956 nominee, and Lyndon B. Johnson, majority leader of the Senate, managed to give resistence to the Kennedy stampede; Kennedy won on the first ballot, gaining 806 votes while needing only 761 convention votes. Johnson accepted the nomination for vice-president.

Kennedy was only the second Catholic nominated by a major political party for its presidential candidate. Al Smith in 1928 was the nominee of the Democratic Party. In that campaign the religious issue was strong. The rejuvenated Ku Klux Klan in its bigotry, opposed Catholicism among its other hate issues. Al Smith lost to Herbert Hoover in an era of boom economic conditions. The strong Protestantism of the South was shown in the voting for Hoover. 1960, although a period of good times, was not a boom period. Chances for a Catholic president of the United States were better than in 1928. A hard fought campaign featuring television debates was waged. Both presidential candidates and the vice-presidential nominees, Henry Cabot Lodge--Republican, and Johnson, the Democrat--"barnstormed" the nation and television networks attempting to gain the support of the electorate.

The people spoke. Kennedy received 34,227,000 (49.7 percent) popular votes to 34,108,000 (49.5 per cent) votes for Nixon. In the electoral vote Nixon lost, having 219 electoral votes to 303 for Kennedy. Unpledged electors from Mississippi and Alabama cast 14 votes for Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia. A margin of less than 120,000 votes separated the winner from the loser in one of the closest presidential races in United States history. The nation had their first Catholic for president. Political analysts still dispute the importance of the Catholic vote. Most agree that Catholics neither voted en masse for Kennedy nor did Protestants unwaveringly vote against him because of his religion. The people of the nation mainly voted as always, for issues, personalities, and interest.

The closeness of the vote brought to many minds the issues of reform. Again the spectre of a president gaining the presidency in the Electoral College while losing the popular vote loomed because of the closeness of the popular vote. The weariness of the campaigners, according to many, pointed to the necessity of having a later convention and a shorter campaign. A shorter campaign should lessen the need for the giant expenditures in the presidential campaign which were estimated at more than one hundred million dollars in 1960.

In the election of 1964, Republican Barry Goldwater captured the electoral votes of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Increased registration of Negro voters, determined campaigning of Republican party, and liberal policies of Democratic party made southern states more diversified. However, Lyndon B. Johnson, the Democratic incumbent, won by a landslide.

In the election of 1968, George Wallace, the American Independent Party's candidate, won five states and received 46 electoral votes. If Democrat Hubert Humphrey had carried Alaska, Delaware, Missouri, Nevada, and Wisconsin--states where Richard Nixon's margin was thin and in which Wallace also had a substantial vote--Nixon's electoral vote total would have been 268 and Humphrey's 224. Neither would have had the necessary majority. The House would then have had to choose among Humphrey, Nixon, and Wallace.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

ABSENTEE VOTING - Participation in elections by qualified voters who, because of illness or absence from home for business or other reasons, is unable to come to the polls in person. They are permitted to mail their ballots to the proper election officials.

BANDWAGON - Climbing aboard, throwing one's support to the candidate or proposal that appears to be winning.

BARNBURNERS - A faction of the Democratic party in New York, 1847-52, which opposed slavery. Their opponents declared that they resembled the Dutch farmer who burned his barn in order to rid it of rats.

BLOC - A group of Congressmen whose devotion to some common economic interest, e.g., griculture, labor, etc., often transcends their formal party allegiance.

BOLTER - One who deserts his party and supports opposition candidates or proposals.

CANVASSING - Soliciting support and votes for a candidate or party ticket is called canvassing. Most often it involves visiting or telephoning voters in their homes or at work. The term canvass is also used in the tabulating of votes. Following an election, official groups called "canvassing boards" tally the returns and certify the election results as being honest and accurate.

CARPETBAGGER - A person who seeks public office in an area outside his home area is often referred to as a carpetbagger. When Robert F. Kennedy, originally of Massachusetts and later a resident of Virginia, announced his decision to run for U.S. Senator from New York, for example, opponents labeled him a carpet bagger. This term originated in the early West and applied to bankers who carried their money in small handbags made from carpets. The term became more widely known after the Civil War when it was applied to Northerners who went south to make money or seize political control by taking advantage of unsettled conditions.

CAUCUS - A secret meeting of party leaders to agree upon candidates or arrange compromises. The Congressional Caucus, composed of party members of both houses, nominated candidates for president and vice-president from 1800 to 1824. In 1833 the convention replaced the caucus as a method of nominating presidential candidates.

CHALLENGE - An allegation that a vote or decision is invalid or that a voter at the polls is not legally qualified to cast his ballot.

CLOSED PRIMARY - A primary election in which participation is limited to members of a particular party.

COALITION - A combination of states or parties united by agreement on a cause, or a cabinet or government made up of members of more than one party.

COAT-TAILS RIDING ON - Where a potential loser wins because of the popularity of the candidate for president or governor on his ticket.

COMPLIMENTARY VOTE - Scattered votes cast by delegates at a political convention for a person they want to honor but who is not an avowed candidate and who is not seriously considered for nomination.

CONGRESSMAN - A member of Congress; colloquially a member of the House of Representatives.

DARK HORSE - A man who is unexpectedly nominated after a long course of futile balloting has resulted in a deadlock among the leading candidates. Among presidential dark horses were Polk, Pierce, Garfield, and Harding.

DEADLOCK - The refusal of Parties engaged in a controversy to make further concessions or compromises, as in a party convention or a legislature.

DELEGATE - Person designated by a political party to act for the party at the convention.

DISFRANCHISEMENT - Deprivation of some right or privilege previously enjoyed, particularly the privilege of voting.

DIXIECRAT - A nickname of Southern Democrats who opposed their party's nomination of President Truman in 1948 because of his Civil Rights stand and who subsequently held a convention of their own and nominated Governor J.S. Thurmond of South Carolina for the presidency.

DONKEY - A symbol of the Democratic Party originated by the cartoonist Thomas Nast in 1874.

DRAFT - Popular move to persuade unwilling candidates to run for office.

ELECTIONEERING - A candidate's activities in canvassing for votes or political support prior to a primary or general election.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE - A body of electors chosen by the voters in each state to elect the president and vice president.

ELECTORATE - Collectively, the whole body of persons who are legally qualified to vote.

ELEPHANT - A symbol for the Republican Party originated by the cartoonist Thomas Nast in 1874.

ENFRANCHISE - To confer the privilege of voting upon classes of persons who have not previously possessed it.

EX OFFICIO - By virtue of Office or Official position.

FACTION - The wing of a political party; generally, any loosely knit group of politicians with or without defined leadership who seek to build up their position by pursuing opportunistic policies.

FAT CAT - Political slang for a man of wealth from whom the party expects liberal campaign contributions.

FAVORITE SON - Candidate nominated by his own state delegation, usually without much hope of success.

FENCE MENDING - The political practice of setting things right with voters just before an election or vote.

FLOATER - A purchasable voter who has no real party affiliation who votes illegally often in several election precincts.

FRANCHISE - The privilege of voting.

FULL DINNER PAIL - A Republican slogan in the campaign of 1896 designed to appeal to the laboring classes.

GENERAL ELECTION - Election for federal offices.

GERRYMANDERING - A redistricting of a state for the purpose of so drawing new districts of voting units to insure the victory of your party at the polls.

GHOST WRITER - Professional who writes speeches and articles credited to a candidate.

G.O.P. - The initials of "Grand Old Party" a term given to the Republican Party.

GRASS ROOTS - Grass Roots usually describes the local--originally rural--level of political opinion. For example, when a politician returns home to find out what the individual voter is thinking about, people say he is going to the grass roots. Grass roots, also is a figure of speech sometimes used to identify the origin of a party's organization of policies on the voter level.

GROOM FOR OFFICE - to attempt to create a favorable impression of a potential candidate for office by having him appear frequently in public and securing publicity for him in newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcasts.

HAT IN THE RING - When a candidate announces he seeks nomination, he "throws his hat in the ring."

HOLD OVER - A member of the U.S. Senate or of the upper House of a State Legislature whose term continues beyond the expiration of a Congress of Legislature.

HUSTINGS - (Pronounced Huse-tings) - This word is widely used today to describe the campaign terrain. Whenever a candidate sets out on a speaking tour, he is said to be "taking to the hustings." In the 11th century, hustings were courts held in English municipalities to hear pleas and appeals. Later the English used the word for the raised platform from which candidates spoke during an election campaign.

INAUGURATION - The ceremony of inducting president or governor into office, the primary feature of which is the administering of the oath of office.

INCUMBENT - Person holding office.

INDEPENDENTS - Voters who do not hold formal membership in a political party, or if a member, votes for candidates of different parties in accordance with his judgment concerning the issues or candidates presented.

JOKER - A technicality in a bill that nullifies or weakens its intent--an innocent looking clause inserted by opponent(s) of a bill that is likely to pass.

KEYNOTE - Speaker who delivers the first big speech of a political convention.

KNIFING - Political treachery; a secret desertion by a party organization of its own candidates; the pretense of supporting a candidate while actively working for the election of an opponent.

LAME DUCK - Officeholder who is finishing unexpired term after losing in the election.

LANDSLIDE - Big vote which gives candidate an overwhelming victory.

LEFT - Those political groups whose views are considered radical or in advance of the general norm of political action or thought at a given time and place.

LOBBYING - This is the influencing of legislators to vote for or against impending legislation.

LOG ROLLING - The "Horse Trading" of Congressional groups by which one gains the support of another on an issue vital to its interests in exchange for support on another issue it doesn't care about.

LUNATIC FRINGE - A term used by Theodore Roosevelt to characterize adherents of reform movements who refused to recognize the difficulties of practical administration and insisted upon the immediate fulfillment of an extreme program.

MACHINE - Large organization and body of voters controlled by a "boss."

MID-TERM ELECTION - The election which falls midway through the four-year term of the president when all representatives and one-third of the senators are up for election or re-election.

MINORITY - Less than half the total vote.

MUD-SLINGING - Using "dirt" or offensive stories to blacken candidate's reputation.

MUGWUMP - An "independent vote" who disregards party lines to vote individually for the candidates whom he prefers.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE - National political party organization, consisting of two members--a man and a woman--from each state party.

NATIONAL CONVENTION - A party gathering which meets every four years to nominate candidates for president and vice-president and adopt a platform.

NOMINATION - The designation by a party of a candidate to run for elective office.

NON-PARTISAN BALLOT - A ballot containing no party designations.

OATH OF OFFICE - An oath administered to persons entering public office or employment in the United States, in which they promise to uphold the Constitution and faithfully perform their official duties.

OLD GUARD - Republicans who supported Grant for president in 1880 and since applied to conservative or reactionary Republicans.

OPEN PRIMARY - A primary election open, without any test of party affiliation, to any qualified vote.

PARTY BOSS - The autocratic and usually irresponsible leader of a political machine in a state, county, or city whose power rests on corrupt methods of controlling the electorate and the processes of nomination and election.

PARTY REGULAR - A voter office holder who loyally supports his party and all its candidates is called a party regular.

PATRONAGE - Politicians on all levels of government often have the power to dispense various favors to their supporters. These favors, called patronage, may include appointments to government or political jobs, the granting of contracts and franchises, and other economic and honorary rewards. Party patronage on a large scale began in the U.S. in 1829 when President Andrew Jackson removed many of his political opponents from office and replaced them with his supporters. Jackson's method--called the "spoils system"--is often defended as an essential feature of the party system. However, civil service laws and rules have taken many jobs out of the patronage category.

PEAR TREE, SHAKING THE - Distributing the spoils of office.

PIVOTAL STATE - A state whose vote may decide the nomination or the election.

PLANK - A section of a party platform referring to a distinct subject.

PLATFORM - Statement of principles made before election which a party proposes to carry out in action, if elected.

PLEDGED DELEGATE - Delegate who has promised to support a certain candidate until it is certain that he cannot win.

PLUM - A desirable appointment or political reward.

PLURALITY - The number by which the leading candidates' vote exceeds that cast for the next highest candidate, usually sufficient for election to office.

POLL - The counting of individual voters as they announce their preference for different candidates.

POPULAR VOTE - Total number of ballots cast in an election by the people.

PORK BARREL - A reference to the low regard for federal funds by which Congressional groups agree to vote appropriations for private or sectional interests.

PRECINCT - Election area; part of a ward, smallest political sub-division.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY - An adaptation of the primary election to enable voters to express a preference among candidates for president by voting either directly for a candidate or for delegates to a party convention who may, or may not, be pledged. It is mandatory in fifteen states and optional in four others. The result is morally, but not legally binding on delegates.

PRESSURE GROUP - An organization set up to influence legislation or nomination in its own interest and often employing paid agents or lobbyists.

PRIMARY - Election in which people choose candidates for their party ticket.

PUSSYFOOTING - Double talking--avoiding clear statement of position on controversial issues.

RABBLE ROUSER - A candidate or campaigner who uses spellbinding speeches to arouse mass fear of the opposition or emotion upheaval for support rather than an appeal to reason.

RALLY - A party mass meeting held before election day for the purpose of getting out a large vote.

REACTIONARY - One who favors a return to an outmoded system.

REGISTRATION - Entering of person's name as a qualified voter; required in many states.

REGULAR - A voter or officeholder who consistently follows the decisions of his party organization.

RETURNS - The results of an election as certified by the proper election officials.

RIDER - A proposal which has little chance of passage is attached to a bill which has a good chance of passage in order to get legislative approval.

RIGHT - A popular designation for a conservative.

RING - The inner circle of a party machine; a group of spoilsmen who loot the public treasury for their own personal or political gain.

SHAKEDOWN - A forced contribution exacted by a political machine from underworld characters and others who have benefited from its special favors.

SILK-STOCKINGS DISTRICT-An election district inhabited chiefly by people of wealth.

SLATE - A list of candidates informally agreed upon in advance of a primary election, convention or election.

SLEEPER - An unresolved issue that is avoided by party leaders, not faced in the platform though important to voters and likely to explode late in the campaign, causing political upsets.

SLUSH FUND - A fund collected for the purpose of bribery or improperly influencing public opinion.

SOLID SOUTH - States south of Mason-Dixon Line that usually vote Democratic.

SOREHEAD - A disappointed office seeker who refuses to support his party.

SPELLBINDER - A convention or campaign orator who is addicted to spread-eagle oratory.

SPLIT TICKET - When a person votes for candidates of two or more parties for different offices, he is splitting his ticket. To encourage split-ticket voting, some states require the voter to pull a separate lever or make a separate "X" for each candidate. In 1956, for example, U.S. voters elected a Republican president and an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress.

STALKING-HORSE - A candidate who is put forward by a party organization, or in the interest of another candidate, for the purpose of dividing the opposition, and who withdraws when the purpose is accomplished.

STAND BEARER - Party's presidential candidate.

STRAIGHT TICKET - When a person votes for all the candidates nominated by a single party, he is said to be voting a straight ticket. In most states, a person can vote a straight ticket by simply pulling a single master lever or marking a single "X" on the appropriate spot on his ballot.

STEALING THUNDER - Appropriating an important issue of another candidate or party.

STRADDLE - To be on both sides of a question at the same time.

STRAW VOTE - An unofficial sampling of voter sentiment, usually taken by a newspaper or political organization, for the purpose of determining the relative strengths of candidates is called a straw vote. Straw votes are often used by political parties to test public response to certain methods as a basis for planning future strategy. The term probably comes from the old saying: "Straw shows the way the wind blows." The informal "opinion polls"--which are taken and tabulated according to so-called scientifically reliable methods.

STUMP - A platform often used by campaign speakers in frontier communities. A stump speech is a campaign address to a rough-and-ready sort.

SUFFRAGE - The right granted to certain individuals to vote.

TAMMANY HALL - Political club of New York City Democrats.

THIRD PARTY - Party strong enough to threaten success of one of the two major parties.

TRIAL BALLOON - Statement placed before public indirectly to test reaction; may be denied if reaction is unfavorable.

UMBRELLA - A term that is used for a major governmental body that covers smaller agencies, commissions, and boards.

UNIT RULE - Practice of instructing all of a state's delegates to national convention to vote unanimously for candidate favored by state convention majority.

UNINSTRUCTED DELEGATE - Convention delegate who is free to vote for any candidate of his choice.

WARD - A voting area in a town or city; several precincts.

WARD HEELER - A ward heeler is a political figure who handled the work of his party in a city ward or precinct. The term has come to have a generally unflattering meaning, suggesting a party "hack."

WATCHER - A representative of a party present at a polling place on election day to insure fair conduct on the part of election officials.

WHEEL HORSE - Dependable party worker.

WHISPERING CAMPAIGN - The circulation by word of mouth of false or scandalous statement concerning a candidate or party.

WHIP - A legislator designated by his party to get out the vote on important party issues, keep party leaders informed on stands taken by members and persuade members to support party policy.

WHISTLE-STOP - A brief appearance by a political candidate during the course of a campaign tour is often called a whistle-stop. Whistle-stop appearances usually refer to trips made by rail, with the candidate appearing on the rear platform of an observation car attached to the train to talk to voters. Many political experts have credited President Truman's victory in the 1948 presidential election to the fact that he traveled 31,000 miles by train, making more than 350 whistle-stops.

WRITING IN - Voting for a candidate whose name has not been printed on the official ballot.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

Orientation Questions

Teachers may find some questions in the following list helpful; it is unlikely that all of these are suited to use in any one class:

1. What is the difference between registration and voting?

2. What are the requirements for registration in your state?

3. Where and when does a citizen register in your state?

4. Do people vote at the same place where they register in your state? If not, where do they vote?

5. What is the date of Election Day?

6. When and where will the Democratic National Convention meet this year? When and where will the Republican National Convention meet this year?

7. When and by what means are delegates to national conventions of the major parties selected in your state?

8. How many delegates does your state have in the Democratic National Convention this year? How many in the Republican National Convention this year?

9. What people can you name who seem to be possible candidates for the presidential nominations?

10. Can you use these words in sentences that have political meanings: primary, caucus, candidate, "favorite son," "dark horse," keynoter, national, chairman, credentials committee, platform, issue, nominee, running mate, standard-bearer, roll call, doubtful state, administration, policy.

11. What qualifications are set by our Constitution for the office of the presidency? Why should the vice-president have to meet similar qualifications? (See a copy of the Constitution in the back of your social studies textbook, Article II, Section 1.)

12. Is there a governor to be elected in your state this year? If so, what are the names of likely candidates?

13. Is there a United States Senator to be elected this year in your state? If so, who are some likely candidates?

14. Who are likely candidates for election to Congress from your Congressional District?

15. What local elections for local officials will be held in your community this year?

Surveying and Reporting Reasons for Political Party Choice

To gain insight into the various reasons why citizens belong to particular parties, students interview parents, neighbors, friends, or citizens in general, and report their findings to the class. Suggested interview questions drawn up by the class to serve as a guide to individual student interviewers might include:

1. Why do you belong to the party you do?
2. What do you think is wrong with the other party or parties?
3. Have you ever changed your party affiliation? If so, why?
4. If you belong to no party, why not?

Students should watch for answers that reveal reasons based on such factors as family tradition ("Our family has always been Republican"), economic motivation ("It's the best party for working people"), or political principles ("This party is concerned with basic American ideas"). Some people may belong to a party because they dislike the other parties. Some who belong to no party may refrain from joining any party because they believe they are independents, because they think all politics are bad, or because they are merely uninterested.

Things to do:

1. Superior students can undertake research projects on the origins of political parties in the United States. The roles of Jefferson and Hamilton in the formation of political parties can be studied.
2. Discuss: Does the primary system assure the nomination of candidates by rank and file party members?

MOCK ELECTIONS

Many social studies instructors are of the opinion that the importance of the voter's exercise of his electoral rights can best be instilled by using class and school elections as models. The instinct for competition, it is suggested can be directed by explaining the detailed operations involved in electing anyone to any post. This calls for fund-raising management; publicity; promotion; public speaking; speech-writing, and a wealth of other young talents.

Student Government elections can follow the convention pattern. Class presidents can be chosen by a convention method. An entire school might reenact the primaries, a state convention; delegates might be sent from each class.

"Television" debates or interviews with candidates, and "paid political" speeches by student candidates are suggested.

As an extension of this activity, the school paper staff can take part in a "Meet the Press" simulation; straw votes can lend excitement to a school election.

Classroom Election Quiz Can Stir Interest

A pleasant method for arousing classroom interest in the "mid year" elections is to simulate a quiz program format similar to those conducted, principally on daytime television.

Teams are chosen and a topic is established. The first team to volunteer and answer by the raising of hands, the sounding of a bell, or the blowing of a whistle, must then answer questions like these in a limited time:

> What is the term of office of your governor?
>
> When is Registration Day?
>
> What is done at the function of Primary Day?
>
> Who is your Congressman? Where does he live?
>
> Can a woman become Senator? Representative?
>
> Who are your Senators? Where do they live?
>
> What is the difference between enrolling, registering, voting, in the primaries?
>
> How long does a Senator serve?
>
> Where in the Constitution does it prescribe the terms of office for Representatives and Senators?
>
> Who becomes president if the president and vice-president are removed from office or die?

Polling Community Interest in Politics

As a stimulus to planning community activities, a class could find out how much interest people in the community have in political affairs. Students could use the information so gathered to increase interest in primaries, local and state caucuses, candidates, the conventions, and the national elections. A poll of adults representing a cross-section of the community could be planned to sample opinion on one or more aspects of the political scene.

Polls Should be Planned Locally

In preparing any questionnaires, an effort should be made to group related questions. The ones grouped below illustrate types of questions that might be considered. For example, one part of a poll might relate to voting habits and attitudes of local citizens. Each person polled could be asked to check the statement that most nearly expresses the practice he follows:

_____ 1. It doesn't make any difference whether I vote or not.

_____ 2. I never vote.

_____ 3. I vote if it is convenient.

_____ 4. I vote only in big elections.

_____ 5. I vote regularly in all elections.

_____ 6. I do not expect to follow the conventions closely by television.

If a purpose of polling is to find out about local opinions of the convention system, each person polled might be asked to indicate the one statement which best approximates his views concerning the convention system.

_____ 1. Conventions are a national disgrace.

_____ 2. Conventions are just "window dressing" because party leaders run them and decide which candidates are to be nominated.

_____ 3. The convention system, despite its faults, enables selection of candidates of nation-wide appeal.

_____ 4. National conventions should be replaced by a system of national presidential preference primaries.

The findings could be used to stimulate class activities aimed at increasing public involvement in the nominating process.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

1. Prepare special election information sheets containing registration information election district maps, lists of candidates, brief descriptions of election issues, sample ballots, and a few key questions such as, "In choosing your U.S. Congressman and Senator, have you determined his position on foreign aid, medical care for the aged, civil rights for minorities, aid to public and parochial schools, plans to reduce unemployment, the "Cold War," the uses of atomic energy, and atomic testing? These materials are designed to stimulate thought and discussion about the particular election.

2. Distribution to students of election materials prepared by non-partisan civic organizations such as the League of Women Voters, American Heritage Foundation, etc.

3. Presentation in class of "socio-drama" on the problems of voters in which students sign in registration books, inquire about particulars of the election, establish sources of information, and vote.

4. Students organize a special Student Elections Council to develop appropriate election-centered projects in which the school will participate. Some students, for example, act as baby-sitters on Election Day to release parents for voting.

5. Conducting of school-wide straw votes on local, state, and national elections.

6. Visits to, observation of, and participation in the activities of local political clubs.

7. Use of town meetings and panel discussions in social studies classes on issues and candidates in elections. Special attention is given to the significance of every vote by including analyses of previous close votes.

8. Judicious use of tape recordings of speeches by leading candidates to define issues and evaluate debate.

9. Problems of Democracy classes may arrange three-to-five-day conventions involving nominations, development of platforms, and straw votes.

10. Provision for comprehensive bulletin board displays in classrooms and special school areas on such aspects of the elections as registration information, candidates, issues, and results.

11. Demonstration of the operation of voting machines.

12. Post-mortem analyses are made of election results in social studies classes pointing up for student how additional voting might have affected these results, the significance of outcomes for public policy, etc.

13. Careful and thorough comparisons between the practices of Communist and other totalitarian societies and the practices of democratic society with

specific reference to influence public policy. The preparation and distribution of mimeographed cartoons, excerpts from public statements, and quotations from reliable secondary sources make for valuable aides in such comparison and instruction.

14. Analysis of books dealing with political leaders, the operations of government, and influences upon the electorate. Thus, books such as Theodore White's THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT, 1960, 1964, and 1968, and James MacGregor Burn's ROOSEVELT: THE LION AND THE FOX may provide the basis for valuable discussion. Two other books are THE MAN by Irving Wallace and THE LAST HURRAH by Edwin O'Connor.

15. Student committees prepare a weekly program guide to TV and radio programs dealing with significant issues.

16. The school and civic organizations may jointly sponsor forum on significant contemporary issues.

17. Expansion of contact of the school with the political life of the community by establishing regular opportunities for students to serve as witnesses at polls and political headquarters on election evenings, etc.

18. Greater use of voting machines for teaching purposes.

FOLLOW-UP TO THE ELECTIONS

Post election evaluations and critiques of the results. Check the vote in national, state, and local elections. What percentage of voters cast a ballot for various offices? By what majority were individual victors elected? Compare relative success of each party in presidential, congressional, gubernatorial, and local races. Do results indicate large number of split ballots? How did results compare with national polls? Local office polls? Were there any unpredictable results?

What was the role of the independent voter in the outcome of various elections? Did any special groups in the population vote as a segment. If so, were they a determining factor in the outcome? Compare rural and city voting. Compare the popular and the electoral vote. Compare result with previous elections. Evaluation of campaign methods. Which campaign do you believe was best regardless of the outcome of the campaign (on national level)? On state level? Locally?

Evaluate the relative impact of the various mass media on the election result. Invite representatives of non-partisan political groups, local party officials, successful and unsuccessful candidates to participate in a post-election discussion of the elections.

Make a checklist of some newly elected officials. Assign individual students to cover the public statements and performance of various newly elected local officials, and state and national representatives. Check important issues likely to come before state and national legislatures and watch your representatives' stand and voting on these issues.

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